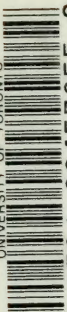


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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th. of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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*Κλῆμα ἐς ἀεὶ. Thucyd.*

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

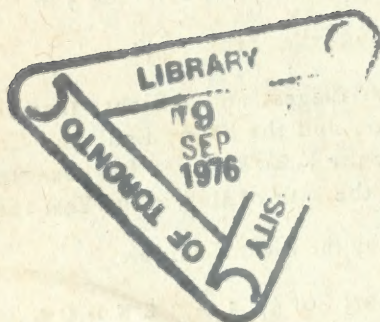
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V O L. III.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K IV.

---

THE City of *London*, as the Metropolis of *Eng-*  
*land*, by its Situation the most capable of trade,  
and by the most usual residence of the Court, and  
the fixed Station of the Courts of Justice for the  
public administration thereof throughout the King-  
dom, the chief seat of trade, was, by the successive  
countenance and favor of Princes, strengthened  
with great Charters and Immunities, and was a  
Corporation governed within itself; the Mayor,  
Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriffs, chosen by them-  
selves; several Companies incorporated within the  
great Corporation; which, besides notable Privileges,  
enjoyed Lands, and perquisites to a very great  
revenue. By the incredible increase of Trade, which  
the distractions of other Countries, and the Peace  
of this brought, and by the great licence of resort  
thither, it was, since this King's access to the  
Crown, in Riches, in People, in Buildings mar-  
vellously increased, insomuch as the Suburbs were  
almost equal to the City; a Reformation of which  
had been often in contemplation, never pursued,  
wise men foreseeing that such a Fulness could not  
be there, without an Emptiness in other places;

B O O K  
IV

The state and  
temper of the  
City of Lon-  
don at that  
time.



B O O K  
IV. whilst so many persons of Honor and Estates were so delighted with the City, the Government of the Country must be neglected, besides the excess, and ill husbandry, that would be introduced thereby. But such foresight was interpreted a Morosity, and too great an oppression upon the Common Liberty; and so, little was applied to prevent so growing a Disease.

As it had these, and many other advantages and helps to be Rich, so it was looked upon too much of late time as a Common Stock not easy to be exhausted, and as a body not to be grieved by ordinary Acts of injustice; and therefore as it was a place of resort, in all cases of necessity, for the sudden borrowing great sums of money, in which they were commonly Merchants too good for the Crown, so it was become a practice, upon any specious pretences, to void the Security that was at any time given for money so borrowed.

Thus after many questionings of their Charter, which were ever removed by considerable sums of money, a Grant made by the King in the beginning of his Reign (in consideration of great sums of money) of good quantities of Land in *Ireland*, and of the City of *Londonderry* there, was voided by a Suit in the *Star-Chamber*; all the Lands, after a vast expence in building and planting, resumed into the King's hands, and a fine of Fifty Thousand pounds imposed upon the City. Which Sentence being pronounced after a long and public Hearing, during which time, they were often invited to a Composition, both in respect of the substance, and the

circumstances of proceeding, made a general impression in the minds of the Citizens of all conditions, much to the disadvantage of the Court; and though the King afterwards remitted to them the penalties of that Sentence, they imputed that to the power of the Parliament, and rather remembered how the benefit of their Grant had been taken from them, than by whom it was restored; so that, at the beginning of the Parliament, the City was as ill affected to the Court as the Country was; and therefore chose such Burgeesses to sit there, as had either eminently opposed the Court, or accidentally been oppressed by it.

The chief Government and Superintendency of the City is in the Mayor, and Aldermen; which, in that little Kingdom, resembles the House of Peers; and the Common-Council is the representative body thereof, like the House of Commons, to order and agree to all Taxes, Rates, and such particulars belonging to the Civil policy. The Common-Council are chosen every year, so many for every Parish, of the wisest, and most substantial Citizens, by the Vestry, and common convention of the People of that Parish; and as the wealthiest, and best reputed men were commonly chosen, so, though the Election was once a year, it was formerly scarce ever known, that any man Once chosen was afterwards rejected or left out, except upon discovery of an enormous crime, and decaying in fortune to a Bankrupt: otherwise, till he was called to be Alderman, or died, he continued, and was every year returned of the Common-Council.



B O O K

IV.

After the beginning of this Parliament, when those who steered at *Westminster* found by their experience in the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, of what consequence the City might be to them, and afterwards found by the courage of the present Lord Mayor, Sir *Richard Gourney*, who cannot be too often or too honorably mentioned, that it might be kept from being disposed by them; and that the men of wealth, and ability, who at first had concurred with them, begun now to discern that they meant to lead them further than they had a mind to go; they directed their Confidants, that at the Election of the Common-Council-men by the concurrence and number of the meaner people, all such who were Moderate men, and Lovers of the present Government, should be rejected; and in their places men of the most Active and Pragmatical heads, of how mean fortunes soever, should be elected. And by this means that body in great part now consisted of Upstart, Factionous, Indigent companions, who were ready to receive all advertisements and directions from *Westminster*, and as forward to encroach upon their Superiors, the Mayor, and Aldermen. And so this firebrand of Privilege inflamed the City at that time.

That They might gratify the City in procuring a better Answer, than they had received from the King to their Petition, and that they might more expose his Majesty to their Affronts, the House resumed the business of the Tower again, with the old reflections upon the removal of the former Good Lieutenant, and the putting in a rude person and



of a desperate fortune, as they called him, that he might use such Prisoners, as there was an intent to send thither, in such a manner as he should be directed; and that the person, who was since put in, had put the City into great apprehensions by the observation that was made, that he took great store of provisions into the Tower, as if he made provision for a greater Garrison, which raised great jealousies; and there was a Petition brought, and delivered to the Houses in the Names of several Merchants, who used to trade to the Mint; in which they desired that there might be such a person made Lieutenant of the Tower, "as they could "Confide in" (an Expression that grew from that time to be much used) without which no man would venture Bullion into the Mint, and by consequence no Merchant would bring it into the Kingdom. Whereas in truth there was no Gentleman of the Kingdom of a better reputation amongst all sorts of men, and there had been more Bullion brought into the Mint in the short time of His being Lieutenant, than had been in many Months before; and amongst those persons, which so solemnly delivered that Petition, and had all subscribed it, there were very few who had ever sent any Silver into the Mint. However the House entertained the complaint as very reasonable, and sent for a Conference with the Lords; with whom they prevailed to join with them in a desire to the King, "that he would "remove Sir *John Byron* from being Lieutenant of "the Tower," which the King for some time refused

BOOK to do, till they pressed it in another manner;  
 IV. which shall be mentioned anon.

The Committee of the Commons still transacts in the City.

The Committee, that still continued to Sit in *London*, intended no other business, but their own Privileges; sent for, and examined, as hath been said, all men, who had attended his Majesty, or had been casually present in the Hall, or at the doors of the Commons House when the King was there; and all such Examinations, as testified any extravagant discourse uttered by any loose fellow, who had accidentally put himself into the company, though it appeared he had no relation to the King's Service were carefully Entered, and Published; but such as declared the King's strict command against any Violence, or disorder, and his positive Charge, that no man should presume to follow him into the House of Commons (as full proof was made to them of those particulars) were as carefully Suppressed, and Concealed.

The Sheriffs of *London* had been directed to appoint a Guard to attend the Committee, whilst it should continue there; and then to guard the Houses when they should again sit at *Westminster*. The accused persons, who lodged all this time in the City, were brought to the Committee with much state, and sat with them to devise some way to Vindicate themselves.

A Declaration of the Commons touching the five Members.

Then a Declaration was agreed upon by the Commons only, in which was set forth, "that the Chambers, Studies, and Trunks of Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Sir Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, and Mr. *Strode*, had been by color of his Majesty's

“ Warrant sealed up ; which was not only against B O O K  
 “ the Privilege of Parliament, but the common IV.  
 “ liberty of every Subject ; that the same Members  
 “ had been the same Day demanded by a Serjeant  
 “ at Arms to be delivered to him, that he might  
 “ Arrest them of High-Treason ; that the next day  
 “ his Majesty came to the House in his own person,  
 “ attended by a multitude of Armed men in a  
 “ Warlike manner with Halberds, Swords, and  
 “ Pistols, who came up to the very door of the  
 “ House, and placed themselves there, and in other  
 “ places, and passages near to the House, to the  
 “ great terror and disturbance of the Members  
 “ then Sitting ; that his Majesty, sitting in the  
 “ Speaker’s Chair, demanded the persons of those  
 “ Members to be delivered to him ; which was a  
 “ high breach of the Rights, and Privileges of  
 “ Parliament, and inconsistent with the Liberties  
 “ and Freedom thereof ; that afterwards his Majesty  
 “ did issue forth several Warrants to divers Officers  
 “ under his own hand, for the apprehension of  
 “ their persons, which by Law he could not do.”

And thereupon they declared, “ that if any person  
 “ should arrest Mr. *Hollis*, &c. or any other Member  
 “ of Parliament, by pretence of any Warrant issuing  
 “ out from the King, he was guilty of the breach  
 “ of the Privilege of Parliament, and a public Enemy  
 “ of the Common-wealth ; and that the arresting  
 “ any Member of Parliament, by any Warrant  
 “ whatsoever, without consent of that House, where-  
 “ of he is a Member, is a breach of the Privilege  
 “ for Parliament : and the person that shall so arrest



B O O K “ him , is declared a public Enemy of the Common-  
IV. “ wealth. ”

They published , that it did fully appear by several  
Examinations . “ that many Soldiers , Papists and  
“ others , to the number of about five hundred ,  
“ came with his Majesty , to the House of Commons ,  
“ armed ; and that some of them , holding up their  
“ Pistols cocked near the door of the House , which  
“ they kept open , said , I am a good Marksman ,  
“ I can hit right , I warrant you : and said , they  
“ would have the door open ; and if any opposition  
“ was made , they made no question but they  
“ should maintain their Party ; ” and that some said ,  
“ a Pox take the House of Commons , let them be  
“ Hanged . And when the King returned from the  
“ House , they expressed great discontent asking ,  
“ when comes the *word* ; that some of them being  
“ demanded what they thought the company in-  
“ tended to have done , answered , that questionless  
“ in the posture they were set in , if the *word* had  
“ been given , they should have fallen upon the  
“ House of Commons , and have cut all their throats :  
“ upon which they said they were of opinion , that  
“ the Soldiers and Papists coming in that manner  
“ with his Majesty was to take away some of the  
“ Members of the House , and if they should have  
“ found opposition , or denial , then to have fallen  
“ upon the House in a Hostile manner . ”

And they did thereupon declare , “ that the same  
“ was a Traiterous design against the King and  
“ Parliament . And whereas the persons accused  
“ had , with the approbation of the House , absented

“ themselves from the Service of the House, for B O O K  
“ avoiding the great and many inconveniencies, IV.  
“ which otherwise might have happened; since  
“ which time, a Printed Paper in the form of a  
“ Proclamation had issued out for the apprehending  
“ and imprisoning them, suggesting, that through  
“ the conscience of their Guilt they were absent,  
“ and fled;” they did further declare, “ that the  
“ said Printed Paper, was False, and Scandalous,  
“ and illegal; and that notwithstanding that Printed  
“ Paper, or any Warrant issued out, or any other  
“ matter against them, they might and Ought to  
“ attend the service of the House, and the Com-  
“ mittees then on foot; and that it was lawful for  
“ all persons whatsoever to lodge, harbour and con-  
“ verse with them, and whosoever should be  
“ questioned for the same should be under the  
“ Protection, and Privilege of Parliament.”

And they declared, “ that the publishing the  
“ Articles of High-Treason against the persons ac-  
“ cused, was a high breach of the Privilege of  
“ Parliament, a great Scandal to his Majesty, and  
“ his Government, a Seditious act manifestly tending  
“ to the Subversion of the Peace of the Kingdom,  
“ and an injury, and dishonor to the Members;  
“ and that the Privileges of Parliament; and Li-  
“ berties of the Subject so violated and broken,  
“ could not be fully, and sufficiently Vindicated,  
“ unless the King would be graciously pleased to  
“ discover the Names of those persons, who advised  
“ him to do the particular Acts before mentioned,  
“ that they might receive Condign Punishment.”

**B O O K** This strange Declaration, so contrary to the  
**IV.** known rules and judgments of Law, and to the known practice and proceedings of Parliament, was no sooner framed and agreed upon in the Committee, than it was printed, and published throughout the City, and Kingdom, before it was Confirmed by, or Reported to, the House; which is against the custom of Parliament. For, by that custom, no Act done at any Committee should be divulged before the same be Reported to the House.

The truth is, it cannot be expressed how great a Change there appeared to be in the countenance and minds of all sorts of People, in Town and Country, upon these late proceedings of the King. They, who had before even lost their Spirits, having lost their credit, and reputation, except amongst the meanest people, who could never have been made use of by them, when the greater should forsake them; and so despaired of ever being able to compass their designs of Malice, or Ambition (and some of them had resumed their old resolutions of leaving the Kingdom) now again recovered greater Courage than ever, and quickly found that their credit and reputation was as great as ever it had been; the Court being reduced to a lower condition, and to more disesteem and neglect than ever it had undergone. All that they had formerly said of Plots and conspiracies against the Parliament, which had Before been laughed at, was Now thought true and real; and all their fears, and jealousies looked upon as the effects of their great Wisdom and Foresight. All that had been Whispered of



*Ireland*, was now talked Aloud and Printed; as all other Seditious Pamphlets and Libels were. The Shops of the City generally shut up, as if an Enemy were at their Gates ready to enter, and to plunder them; and the People in all places at a Gaze, as if they looked only for Directions, and were then disposed to any undertaking.

On the other side, They, who had, with the greatest courage and alacrity, opposed all their Seditious practises, between Grief and Anger were confounded with the consideration of what had been done, and what was like to follow. They were far from thinking that the accused Members had received much Wrong, yet they thought it an Unseasonable time to call them to an Account for it. That if any thing had been to be done of that kind, there should have been a fitter choice of the Persons, there being many of the House, of more mischievous inclinations, and designs against the King's person, and the Government, and who were more exposed to the Public Prejudice, than the Lord *Kimbolton* was; who was a Civil, and well-natured man, and had rather kept ill Company, than drank deep of that infection and poison, that had wrought upon many others. Then Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and Mr. *Strode*, were persons of too Low an account and esteem; and though their Virulence, and Malice, was as conspicuous, and transcendent as any man's, yet their reputation, and interest to do mischief otherwise than in concurring in it, was so small, that they gained credit and authority by being joined with the rest, who had indeed a great Influence. How-

B O O K  
IV.

B O O K ever, since there was a resolution to proceed against  
 IV. Those men, it would have been much better to have caused them to have been all Severally arrested, and sent to the Tower, or to other Prisons, which might have been very easily done before suspected, than to send in that manner to the Houses with that Formality, which would be liable to so many exceptions. At least, they ought so far to have imparted it to Members in both Houses, who might have been trusted, that in the Instant of the Accusation, when both Houses were in that Consternation (as in great consternation they were) somewhat might have been pressed Confidently towards the King's satisfaction; which would have produced some opposition and contradiction, and might have prevented that Universal concurrence and dejection of Spirit, which seized upon, and possessed both Houses.

But above all, the anger, and indignation was very great and general, that to all the other oversights and presumptions was added the exposing the Dignity, and Majesty, and Safety of the King, in his coming in Person, in that manner, to the House of Commons; and in going the next day, as he did, to the *Guild-Hall*, and to the Lord Mayor's, which drew such Reproaches upon him to his Face. All which was justly imputed to the Lord *Digby*, who had before fewer true Friends than he deserved, and had now almost the whole Nation his Enemies, being the most Universally odious of any man in it.

When the House of Commons had Passed such Votes from the Committee at *Merchant-Taylors-Hall*,

as they thought necessary, and had once more B O O K  
Adjourned thither, the Committee asked the advice IV.  
of the House, whether the accused Members might  
be present with them (who had in truth directed,  
and governed all their proceedings from the time  
they Sat there) which was not only approved,  
but those Members required to attend the House  
the next day it was to sit, and so to continue the  
service of the House, which was then Adjourned  
for three or four days, that the City might appear  
in such a posture, as should be thought convenient.

The noise was so great of the preparations made  
in the City to bring the accused Members in Triumph  
to the Parliament, and that the whole Militia would  
accompany them, whilst the Seamen and Mariners  
made an appearance in Barges, and other Vessels  
upon the *Thames* to *Westminster*, that the King  
thought it convenient to remove again from *White-*  
*Hall*, and so on the tenth of *January*, which was  
the Eve to that great Festival, his Majesty, the  
Queen, and the Royal Children, went from *White-*  
*Hall* to *Hampton-Court*, waited on by some few of  
their own Household Servants, and thirty or forty  
of those Officers, who had attended at *White-Hall*  
for security against the tumults.

The King  
and the Roy-  
al Family,  
remove to  
Hampton-  
Court.

Before His going, he sent to the Earls of *Essex*  
and *Holland* to attend him in this journey, who  
were both by their Places, the one being Lord  
Chamberlain of his Household, the other the first  
Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber or Groom of the  
Stole, Obligated to that Duty. The Earl of *Essex*  
resolved to go, and, to that purpose, was making



B O O K himself ready, when the Earl of *Holland* came to  
 iv. him, and privately dissuaded him, assuring him,  
 that if They two went, they should be both Mur-  
 dered at *Hampton-Court*; whereupon they left the  
 King to his small retinue in a most disconsolate,  
 perplexed condition, in more need of comfort and  
 Counsel, than they had ever known him; and  
 instead of attending their Master in that exigent,  
 they went together into the City, where the Com-  
 mittee Sat, and where they were not the less  
 welcome for being known to have been invited to  
 have waited upon their Majesties. They who wished  
 the King best, were not sorry that he Then with-  
 drew from *White-Hall*; for the insolence, with which  
 all that people were transported, and the animosity,  
 which was infused into the hearts of the people in  
 general against the Court, and even against the  
 Person of the King, cannot be expressed.

Whilst the Committee Sat in *London*, the Com-  
 mon Council likewise met, as hath been said, to  
 the end they might be ready to comply in any  
 particulars should be desired from the City; and  
 so the Committee having Resolved, "that the  
 "actions of the Citizens of *London*, or of any other  
 "person whatsoever for the defence of the Par-  
 "liament, or the Privileges thereof, or the pre-  
 "servation of the Members thereof were according  
 "to their duty, and to their late Protestation, and  
 "the Laws of this Kingdom:" and if any person  
 should arrest, or trouble any of them for so doing,  
 he was declared "to be a public Enemy of the  
 "Common-wealth:" and in the next place having

Resolved, "that that Vote should be made known B O O K  
 "to the Common-Council of the City of *London*," IV.  
 the accused Members about two of the Clock in  
 the Afternoon on the eleventh of *January*, being  
 the next day after the King went to *Hampton-Court*,  
 came from their lodgings in the City to *Westminster*,  
 guarded by the Sheriffs, and Trained-bands of *London*  
 and *Westminster*, and attended by a conflux of many  
 thousands of People besides, making a great clamor  
 against Bishops, and Popish Lords, and for the  
 Privileges of Parliament; some of them, as they  
 passed by *White-Hall*, asking with much contempt,  
 "what was become of the King and his *Cavaliers*?  
 "and whither he was gone?"

The accused  
 Members are  
 brought in  
 Triumph to  
 Westminster,  
 Jan. 11.

From *London-bridge* to *Westminster*, the *Thames*  
 was guarded with above a hundred Lighters and  
 Long-boats, laden with small pieces of Ordnance,  
 and dressed up with Wast-cloths and Streamers,  
 as ready for Fight. And that the Trained-bands of  
*London* might be under the command of a person  
 fit to lead them, they granted a Commission to  
 Captain *Skippon*, who was Captain of the Artillery-  
 Garden, to be Major-General of the Militia of the  
 City of *London*; an Office never before heard of,  
 nor imagined that they had authority to constitute.  
 The man had served very long in *Holland*, and  
 from a common Soldier raised himself to the degree  
 of a Captain, and to the reputation of a good  
 Officer; he was a man of order and sobriety, and  
 untainted with any of those vices which the Officers  
 of that Army were exercised in; and had newly  
 given over that service upon some exceptions he

B O O K had to it, and, coming to *London*, was by some  
 IV. Friends preferred to that Command in the Artillery-  
 Garden, which was to teach the Citizens the exercise  
 of their Arms. He was altogether illiterate, and  
 having been bred always abroad, brought disaffection  
 enough with him from thence against the Church  
 of *England*, and so was much carested and trusted  
 by that Party.

This man marched that day in the head of their  
 tumultuary Army to the Parliament-House, where  
 the accused Members were no sooner entered, than  
 they magnified, "the great kindness and affection  
 " they had found in the City, and their zeal to  
 " the Parliament, and if their expressions of it, upon  
 " this extraordinary occasion, had been somewhat  
 " unusual, that the House was engaged in honor  
 " to Protect and defend them from receiving any  
 " damage." Whereupon the Sheriffs of *London* were  
 called into the House of Commons, and thanked by  
 the Speaker for their extraordinary care, and love  
 expressed to the Parliament, and told, "that they  
 " should have an Ordinance of Parliament for their  
 " Indemnity, declaring that all their actions of  
 " respect and kindness, which they had showed to  
 " the Lords and Commons in *London*, and their  
 " attending them to, and at *Westminster*, was legal  
 " and justifiable." The Masters and Officers of  
 Ships were likewise called in, and most heartily  
 thanked for their kindness; and Serjeant-Major-  
 General *Skippon* appointed every day to attend at  
*Westminster*, with such a Guard as he thought  
 sufficient for the two Houses. There was one cir-  
 cumstance



cumstance not to be forgotten in the march of the Citizens that day, when the show by Water was little inferior to the other by Land, that the Pikemen had fastened to the tops of their pikes, and the rest in their hats or their bosoms, printed Papers of the Protestation which had been taken, and enjoined by the House of Commons the year before for the defence of the Privilege of Parliament; and many of them had the printed Votes of the King's breaking their Privileges in his coming to the House, and demanding their Members.

As soon as the Citizens and Mariners were discharged, some *Buckinghamshire*-men, who were said to be at the Door, with a Petition, and had indeed waited upon the Triumph with a train of several thousand men, were called in; who delivered their Petition in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Buckingham*, and said it was brought to the Town by about six thousand men. " They com-  
 " mended the unwearied pains of the House of Com-  
 " mons, for the redress of the pressures they had  
 " lain under, but complained that the success was  
 " not answerable, their endeavours being frustra-  
 " ted or retarded by a Malignant faction of Popish  
 " Lords, Bishops, and Others; and now of late,  
 " to take all that little hope, was left, from them, of  
 " a future reformation, the very Being of the Parlia-  
 " ment was shaken, the Privileges thereof broken  
 " in a desperate and unexampled manner, and the  
 " Members thereof unassured of their lives, in whose  
 " safety, the safety of Them, and their Posterity was  
 " involved. They held it therefore their duty accord-

The Bucking-  
 hamshire.  
 men's Petition  
 to the House of  
 Commons.

BOOK  
IV.

“ ing to their late Protestation to defend, and main-  
 “ tain the Persons and Privileges thereof, to the  
 “ utmost power of their Lives and Estates; to  
 “ which purpose, they said, they were then come  
 “ to make the humble tender of their Service, and  
 “ would remain in expectation of their Commands  
 “ and Order; to the execution whereof they would  
 “ with all alacrity address themselves, ready to live  
 “ by them, or to die at their feet, against whom-  
 “ soever should in any sort illegally attempt upon  
 “ them.

“ They besought them therefore to assist the ardent  
 “ prayers of the Petitioners, that the Popish Lords  
 “ and Bishops might be forthwith outed the House  
 “ of Peers; that all Privileges of Parliament might  
 “ be confirmed to them, and that all evil Counsellors,  
 “ the *Achans* of the Common-wealth, might be  
 “ given up to the hands of Justice; without all which,  
 “ they said, they had not the least hope of *Israel's*  
 “ peace, or to reap those glorious advantages,  
 “ which the fourteen Months seed-time of their  
 “ unparalleled endeavours had given to their un-  
 “ satisfied expectations.”

When they had received thanks for their wonderful  
 affection, and were told, that “ by the great care of  
 “ the City of *London*, the parliament was sufficiently  
 “ guarded and assured; and therefore that they might  
 “ depart to their Houses till further occasion appear-  
 “ ed, of which they should be sure to be informed;”  
 One of them said, “ they had another Petition,  
 “ which they meant to prefer to the King; but desired  
 “ their advice, whether that House would vouchsafe

“ to recommend it, or whether they themselves  
 “ should deliver it.” For That, they received New  
 thanks; and were wished “ that six, or eight of them  
 “ should present it to his Majesty in the name of the  
 “ rest;” for the House saw their Wisdom and modera-  
 tion such, that they presumed they of themselves  
 were very able to manage that business.

When they had thus caressed the Commons, they  
 went to the House of Lords with another Petition,  
 complaining “ of the malignant factions, which  
 “ rendered the endeavours of the House of Commons  
 “ successless;” and said “ that in respect of that late  
 “ attempt upon the Honorable House of Commons,  
 “ they were come to offer their Service, as resolved  
 “ in their just defence to live and die. And therefore  
 “ they did humbly pray, that most Honorable House  
 “ would co-operate with the House of Commons, in  
 “ speedily perfecting the most necessary work of  
 “ Reformation, bringing to condign and exemplary  
 “ punishment both wicked Counsellors, and other  
 “ Plotters, and Delinquents; and that the whole  
 “ Kingdom might be put into such a present posture  
 “ of Defence, that they might be safe both from all  
 “ practices of the malignant Party at home, and the  
 “ endeavours of any ill affected States abroad.” The  
 Lords were as Civil to them as the Commons had  
 been, and gave them great thanks. And from thence  
 they went to find out the King with their Petition to  
 Him; in which they complained, “ that Mr. *Hamb-*  
 “ *den*, whom they had chosen Knight of their Shire,  
 “ and in whom they had ever good cause to Confide,  
 “ was, to their great amazement, accused amongst

B O O K  
 IV.

They also Peti-  
 tion the House  
 of Lords.

They Petition  
 the King.



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“ the others, of High Treason. They said, that having  
“ taken into their serious consideration the manner  
“ of their Impeachment, they could not but conceive that it did oppugn the Rights of Parliament,  
“ to the maintenance whereof their Protestation did  
“ bind them; and they did believe, that the malice,  
“ which his, and the others Zeal to his Majesty’s  
“ Service, and the State, had raised in the Enemies  
“ of his Majesty, the Church, and the Commonwealth, had occasioned that foul Accusation,  
“ rather than any ill deserts of Theirs; and that  
“ through Their sides the judgment and care of the  
“ Petitioners and others were wounded, by whose  
“ choice they were presented to the House; and  
“ therefore they did humbly desire his Majesty that  
“ Mr. *Hamdden*, and the rest, who lay under the  
“ burden of that Accusation, might enjoy the just  
“ Privileges of Parliament.” So from this day we may reasonably date the Levying of War in *England*; whatsoever hath been since done being but the Superstructures upon those foundations, which were then laid.

The House of Commons received the Votes passed by their Committee in the City, and added more.

The Members being in this manner placed again upon their Thrones, and the King retired with his poor family to *Hampton-Court*, they reviewed their Votes, which had passed in the Committee in the City, which they had caused every night to be printed without staying for the confirmation of the House; and where they had any defect, as they thought, or by the interpretation of others, they supplied them with more strength and Authority. So they provided and declared, “ that no Member of Parliament

“ should be arrested upon any pretence whatsoever.” And because it had been insisted on that they would not make any Declaration so much against the known Law, which allowed no Privilege in the case of Treason, Felony, or breach of the Peace, they now added that “ even in the Case of Treason no Member ought or could be arrested, or proceeded against, without first informing the House of which he was a Member, of the Charge and Evidence against him, and receiving Their leave and direction for the proceeding against him.” And that men might hereafter be more wary how they were made instrumental in bringing any reproach upon them, they Appointed a Committee to prepare a Charge against *Herbert* the King’s Attorney General for presuming to accuse the Members of High-Treason; which was made ready accordingly, and prosecuted with wonderful vigor, as will be remembered hereafter.

They resolved that the King should not enjoy much ease and quiet in his retreat; and therefore every day sent some Committee or other to him with Petitions and expostulations: a Committee of Lords and Commons attended him with a grievous complaint of the Breach of Privilege, they had sustained by his coming to the House; and desired him “ that he would inform them who had given him that pernicious Counsel, that such evil Counsellors might be brought to justice, and receive condign punishment.” And when they found that the Lord *Digby*, whom they generally believed to be the Author and contriver of all that transaction, though they could have no

BOOK IV. evidence of it, had withdrawn himself from Court, and they well enough knew had transported himself beyond the Seas, they brought Witnesses to the Bar, who affirmed, " that there were, on such day, several " Officers, whereof the unbeloved *Lunsford* was " one, assembled together at *Kingston upon Thames* " near *Hampton Court*; and that the Lord *Digby* " came thither to them in a Coach with six Horses " from *Hampton Court*, and conferred with them a " long time, and then returned again thither." They were well satisfied with the evidence, and forthwith accused him to the House of Peers of High Treason, for the Levying of War against the King and Parliament; and a Proclamation was shordy issued out for his Apprehension, when all the Town knew, that he was safely arrived in *Zeeland*. They resumed the consideration of the Lieutenant of the Tower; and upon new information that much provision was sent in thither every day, they sent for Sir *John Byron*, who appeared at their Bar, and gave so full answers to all the questions they asked of him, that they could not but dismiss him. However they sent again to the King to remove him, and put a fitter man into the place, and recommended Sir *John Coniers* to him, as a man in whom they could Confide; and because they did not speedily receive such an Answer as they liked, they appointed their Major-General *Skippon* to place such Guards about the Tower, as might prevent the carrying in more provision of victuals thither, than would serve for one day's consumption; notwithstanding which, the King would not consent to their desire.

The Lord  
Digby accused  
of High Treason upon pre-  
tence of his  
Levying War  
at Kingston  
upon Thames



All Men were now in union in both Houses: the Lords had not yet recovered the Courage to dissent in any one Proposition made to them from the Commons; and in Their House no Man durst presume to Debate the matter of Privilege, how far it extended, and in what Cases it was of no Moment, lest he might be thought to be privy to, and a Counsellor of, that heinous Breach, which had given them all this Credit. In this consent and concurrence, all the Votes which had passed at the Committee in *London*, and which had been by them communicated to the Common-Council, and so divulged throughout the City and Kingdom, were confirmed; and those who objected against any expressions, which were not warrantable, reprehended for taxing the discretion of the Committee.

And in one day both Houses agreed in, and executed three Acts of Sovereignty, even of as high a nature as any they have since ventured upon; the first, “in commanding the Sheriffs of *London*, by, “and with the advice of their new Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, to place a Guard upon, that is “to besiege the Tower of *London*, to hinder the going in of any Provisions, or going out of any Arms or Ammunition;” the second, “in appointing Sir *John Hotham* to go to *Hull*, which will be “mentioned anon;” the third, “in sending an Order to the Governor of *Portsmouth*, that no body should be admitted into that Town and Fort, “or suffered to pass from thence, or any thing to be “disposed of there, but by order from the King “signified by both Houses of Parliament.”

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After this, a message was resolved upon to be sent to the Governor of the Prince, "that he should not suffer the Prince to be transported out of the Kingdom, as he would answer the breach of Trust reposed in him concerning Religion, and the Honor, Safety, and Peace of the three Kingdoms;" and they declared, "that any Person, who should persuade or attend upon him in such transportation, should be under the same Censure."

With these high Acts of Public Concernment they joined the vindication of themselves from the late

The Commons  
examine the  
Attorney  
General  
touching the  
impeach-  
ment of the  
five Mem-  
bers.

Trespasses: and to that end caused the Attorney General to be publicly examined upon Interrogatories, "whether he did contrive, frame, or advise the Articles of Impeachment against the Members that were accused? whether he knew the truth of them upon his Own knowledge, or by information? whether he would undertake to make them good, when he should be thereunto called? from whom he received them, and by whose direction or advice he did exhibit them? whether he had any testimony or proof of them before the exhibiting?" And having received his Answer,

His Answer.

"that he had neither framed, nor advised them, nor knew any thing of the truth of them, nor could undertake to justify them, but that he had received them from the King, and was by him commanded to exhibit them;" they presently declared,

They Vote a  
Charge a-  
gainst him.

"that he had broken the Privilege of Parliament in preferring those Articles, and that the same was illegal, and he Criminal for so doing; and that a Charge should be sent to the Lords,

“ in the name of the House of Commons . against  
 “ the Attorney General , to have satisfaction for  
 “ the great scandal , and injury to the Members  
 “ thereof , unless he did within five days bring in his  
 “ Proof , and make good the Articles against them .”

So that they had now raised to themselves an unquestionable stock of security , when they had declared , “ that they might neither be apprehended  
 “ by a Warrant under the King’s own Hand , nor  
 “ accused by his Attorney General , except Them-  
 “ selves were willing :” and they who had concluded it most exactly just , that the House of Peers must Imprison their own Members , as fast as the Commons accused them of High-Treason , and , by that rule , had , within less than a week before , freed themselves of twelve Bishops , who always opposed their designs ( and in a case , where every Man’s Conscience absolved them of the Guilt , of which they were charged ) thought it now Unanswerable reason to condemn the Justice of the King’s proceedings ; “ because if a man should be committed and  
 “ imprisoned as soon as the King accused him of  
 “ High-Treason , the Parliament might by consequence be Dissolved ; since he might successively  
 “ accuse the whole Body ;” which Logic , if they had not pleased to Vote the contrary , would have run as well in their own case , upon their own Licence of accusing , and more dangerously in respect of the House of Peers , which might possibly indeed have been thereby Dissolved .

Though the King had removed himself out of the noise of *Westminster* , yet the effects of it followed



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him very close; for besides the *Buckinghamshire*-Petitioners, who alarmed him the same, or the next day after he came to *Hampton-Court*, several of the same nature were every day presented to him, in the name of other Counties of the Kingdom; all which were Printed, and scattered abroad with the Declaration of the Lord *Digby's* Levying War at *Kingston upon Thames*, and the Proclamation for apprehending him; all which being so industriously dispersed, and without any color, or ground of danger, but only that the Kingdom might be injured to the style of the two Houses, and exercised in their commands against the time that they meant to be in earnest, gave the King reason to remove in few days from *Hampton-Court*, to his Castle at *Windfor*, where he could be more secure from any sudden popular Attempt; of which he had reason to be very apprehensive, when after those high Acts of Sedition at *London* and *Westminster* were declared to be according to the Laws of the Land, and the Protestation lately taken, that Protestation was by a new Order enjoined to be administered throughout the Kingdom, and the Names of all those who refused to take it, which there was reason to believe many would upon Their new Glosses, returned to the House of Commons, who were as severe Inquisitors as could be found any where.

The King  
removes to  
Windfor.

Thence sends  
a message to  
both Houses.

From thence his Majesty sent a Message to both Houses, " That he took notice, that his proceedings  
" against those Persons, whom he had accused  
" (naming them) were conceived by many to be  
" illegal, and not agreeable to the Privilege of Par-

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IV.

“liament, and that he was so desirous to give satisfaction to all men in all matters that might seem to have relation to Privilege of Parliament, that he would wave his former proceedings; and all doubts being by that means settled, when the minds of Men were composed, he would proceed against them in an unquestionable way; and he assured both Houses, that, upon all occasions, he would be as careful of their Privileges as of his Life, or his Crown. To which he added, that, in all his proceedings against those Persons, he had never the least intention of violating the least Privilege of Parliament; and in case any doubt of breach of Privilege remained, he would be willing to assert it by any reasonable way his Parliament should advise him to; and therefore he desired them forthwith to lay by all jealousies, and apply themselves to the public and pressing Affairs, and especially to those of *Ireland*, where, in the good of the Kingdom, and the true Religion, which should ever be his first care, were so highly and so nearly concerned. And he desired them, that his care of Their Privileges might increase their care of His Lawful Prerogative, which was so necessary to the mutual defence of each other, and both would be the foundation of a perpetual and perfect intelligence between his Majesty and Parliaments, and of the happiness and prosperity of his People.”

But this Message was not such as they looked for; there seemed still to be left a time for prosecution, and though the error in Form seemed to be consented

**B O O K** to, yet the Substance and Matter of the accusation  
**IV.** might be still insisted on. And therefore they took no notice of it, but proceeded in inflaming all Men with the sense of the breach of Privilege; and finding the general mettle somewhat to abate, that they might keep up the apprehension of danger, and the esteem of their Darling the City, they consult about Adjourning both Houses into *London*; but finding some danger of infringing the Act of Parliament, from whence some advantage might be taken to their prejudice, till that power might be cleared by a Law, they were contented to Adjourn their Houses as they had done for some days, and to appoint Committees, qualified with more power than the Houses had, to meet in *London*; which for the convenience of the Common-Council, who took up the *Guild-Hall*, chose to sit in *Grocers-Hall*.

The Houses  
 appoint Com-  
 mittees to sit  
 in Grocers-  
 Hall.

It was wondered, that having all places so much at their devotion, they would remove from their more convenient seats at *Westminster*; where they might transact whatsoever they desired without interruption, and where they were only disturbed by their own direction. But the advantage they reaped by it was extraordinary; for, besides the fears they dispersed abroad, and the confidence they gave their own Friends of the City by being with them, they were sure, for the most part, to have a Committee to their own hearts desire; since, besides many out of Laziness or Indignation would not attend the Service in so inconvenient a place, very many, who troubled them most in their Counsels, Durst not in earnest go thither, for fear of uncomely Affronts,

if not danger, their names being published in the tumults as Disaffected persons; and They were those indeed, which constituted the Malignant Party, which they prayed against: and they found it much easier to transact any thing contrived and framed by such a Committee, than originally offered and debated in either House, before the mystery was understood by their Profelytes, and when those, who too well understood it, did render their designs sometimes ineffectual.

The minds of Men throughout the Kingdom being now prepared to receive all their Dictates with reverence, and to obey all their Orders, and to believe that all their Safety consisted in, and depended upon their Authority, and there being few within the House who had Courage to oppose and contradict them, they sent to the Lords to quicken them in the Bill they had formerly sent to them concerning removing the Bishops out of their House; which now, when there were so many of them Prisoners in the Tower, they presumed would not meet with so great an opposition. In the House of Commons they called to have the Bill read, which had lain so long there, the same that had been brought in by St. *John* for the settling the Militia of the Kingdom; to which they Now added "the putting all the Forts, Castles, and Garrisons into the hands of such Persons as they could *Confide* in;" which was the expression they used, when they had a mind to remove any man from a place, of which he was justly possessed, "that they could not *Confide* in him," which they thought to be

B O O K  
IV..

The Commons  
go upon St.  
*John's* Bill of  
the Militia,  
and pass it.



B O O K  
IV.

reason enough to displace any man. When this Bill had been with much ado accepted, and first read, there were few men who imagined it would ever receive further countenance: but now there were few, who did not believe it to be a very necessary provision for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom. So great an impresson had the late proceedings made upon them; so that with little opposition it passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords.

Upon the disbanding the late Army in the North, all the Artillery, Arms, and Ammunition, that was provided for that Service, had been by the King's command sent to *Hull*, where it still remained; and his Majesty intended it should be kept there, for a Magazine upon all occasions. And he had a little before these late passages sent the Earl of *New-Castle* thither, with a private Commission to be Governor thereof, as soon as it should be fit to publish such a Command; and in the mean time by his own Interest to draw in such of the Country, as were necessary to Guard the Magazine. But nothing the King did in the most private manner, but was quickly known to those from whom it should most have been concealed. And so the Earl of *New-Castle* was no sooner gone, but notice was taken of it; and he had not been three days in *Hull*, before the House of Peers sent for him, to attend the Service of that House, which he had rarely used to do, being for the most part at *Richmond* attending upon the Prince of *Wales*, whose Governor he was. He made no haste to return upon the Summons of the House, but sent to the King to know His pleasure;

who not thinking matters yet ripe enough to make any such Declaration, appointed him to come away; upon which he appeared in the House, without being asked where he had been.

But both Houses shortly after moved the King, "that the Magazine at *Hull* might be removed to the Tower of *London*, which would be very necessary for the quieting the minds of that Country, and abating the Fears and Jealousies in the hearts of very many, who did apprehend some design in the keeping so much Ammunition in the Northern parts:" and his Majesty not giving them a speedy Answer, they sent down Sir *John Hotham*, whose Estate lay within three or four miles of *Hull*, and he had some command of the Trained-bands, "to be Governor thereof, and to draw in such of the Country as He thought fit for the place."

B o o k  
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Both Houses  
move the  
King that the  
Magazine at  
*Hull* might  
be removed to  
the Tower.

And though *Hotham*, had concurred with them in all their violent ways, yet they well knew that he was not possessed with their Principles in any degree, but was very well affected in his judgment to the Government both in Church and State, but had been first engaged by his particular malice against the Earl of *Strafford*, and afterwards terrified by their Votes against Sheriffs and Deputy-Lieutenants; and therefore they sent his Son, a Member likewise of the House, and in whom they more Confided, to assist him in that Service, or rather to be a Spy upon his Father. And this was the first Essay they made of their Sovereign power over the Militia and the Forts, whilst their Bill was yet depending, and was a sufficient manifestation what they intended

They send  
both the  
*Hothams*  
to *Hull*.

BOOK IV. to do, when it should be passed; towards which they made all the haste they could, exercising the King's patience every day with some disagreeable Message to him, upon their Privileges, and requiring "vindication, and reparation, and discovery of the persons who had promoted that Prosecution." And though the Council once a week attended upon his Majesty at *Windfor*, he could not freely consult with them upon what most concerned him.

In this sad condition was the King at *Windfor*, fallen in ten days from a Height and Greatness that his Enemies feared, to such a Lowness, that his own Servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him. For though, it is true, the Acts of the House of Commons, and the Tumults, were as great affronts to Majesty, before this last Act upon the Members, as any that could be imagined possible to succeed, yet the House of Peers was Then well disposed, and might have been managed with a little patience, to have blasted all the extravagances of the Commons. And the truth is, the greatest extravagances appeared to the standers by to be but the attempts of persons in Despair, and the strugglings of men at the last Gasp. And, without doubt, if the King could have had the patience to have sat still a Spectator of the Dissensions between the two Houses, and encouraging the Lords, who were firm to him, and putting those matters in issue, wherein the Commons had invaded both His and the Lords Privileges; if he had commanded his Council at Law and the Judges, to have proceeded by the strict rules of the Law against Seditious persons at large, for Preaching  
and

and Printing against the peace of the Kingdom, and put the Commons House either to have been quiet, whilst their Champions were exemplarily punished (which would have put a speedy end to their Licence) or to have appeared the Champions for an Infamous Act against the Law and the Justice of the Kingdom, their Jurisdiction would probably in a short time have been brought within the due Limits, and the stoutest Factor for the violent Party been glad to have compounded for an Act of Oblivion.

And I have heard from Credible Persons, that the Chief of that Faction afterwards confessed, that if that extraordinary Accident had not happened to give them New Credit and Reputation, they were sinking under the weight of the Expectation of those whom they had deluded, and the Envy of those whom they had oppressed. I am sure, they who out of Conscience, and Loyalty to their King and Country, diligently attended the Public Service, were strangely surpris'd at the matter and manner of that accusation; and foresaw, from the minute, the infinite disadvantage it would bring to the King's affairs. Not that they thought the Gentlemen accused, less Guilty; for their extreme dishonest acts in the House were so visible, that nothing could have been laid to their charge incredible: but the going through with it was a matter of so great difficulty and concernment, that every Circumstance ought to have been fully deliberated, and the several parts distributed into such hands, as would not have shaken in the execution. And the saying, that the King had not Competent Persons enough, whom



B O O K he might trust in so important a Secret (which I  
 IV. believe was true) is rather an Argument, that the  
 thing was not to be attempted at all, than that it was  
 to be attempted in That manner; for whoever would  
 have betrayed the Trust, would be sure to find  
 fault with it, when it was endeavoured without  
 him, especially if it miscarried. The truth is, there  
 was little reason to believe, that the House of Peers  
 would commit the Lord *Kimbolton* upon the Accu-  
 sation of Mr Attorney in that conjuncture of time;  
 and less that the House of Commons would deliver  
 up their Members to the Serjeant at Arms, when  
 they should be demanded; which was an Irregular  
 thing, and implied unreasonably, that they had  
 some Power to Keep them, Who were desired to  
 deliver them. Yet if the choice had been better  
 made, and the several Persons first Apprehended,  
 and put into distinct close Custodies, that neither  
 any Body else should have heard from them, nor  
 they one from another, all which had not been  
 very difficult the high Spirit of both Houses might  
 possibly have been so dejected, that they might have  
 been Treated withal. But even that attempt had  
 been too great for the Solitary State the King was in  
 at that time; which was most naturally to have  
 been improved by standing upon his guard, and  
 denying all that was in his Power to deny, and  
 in compelling his Ministers to execute the Law  
 in Those Cases that demonstrably concerned the  
 Public Peace.

The Commit-  
 tee at Gro-  
 cer-Hall

The Committee at *Grocers-Hall*, very much ex-  
 alted to find no opposition in any thing they desired

from both Houses, resolved to make what advantage they could of that Season of their Power; and therefore not vouchsafing to return any Answer to the King's Message of retractation, they concluded upon "a new Remonstrance to be made of the State  
 " of the Kingdom; in which they would present  
 " to the King's view the causes of the present evils  
 " and distractions, and propose to him, by way  
 " of Advice, the Remedies that in Their opinion  
 " he was to apply to those evils.

B O O K  
 IV.

design a new  
 Remonstrance

" The Causes they agreed to be, the evil Council  
 " about the King and Queen, disposing all occurrences of State, and abusing the King's Authority  
 " and Power to the prejudice of Religion, the hazarding the public Peace, and strengthening a  
 " Malignant Party in the Kingdom; the influence,  
 " which the Priests and Jesuits had upon the affections and Counsels of the Queen, and the admission  
 " of her Majesty to intermeddle with the Great  
 " Affairs of State, and with the disposing of places  
 " and preferments of the Highest concernment in  
 " the Kingdom; whereby those of great power and  
 " authority were engaged to favor Such designs, as  
 " were infused into her Majesty by those of that  
 " Religion: the want of a due reformation of the  
 " Church Government, and Liturgy then used; the  
 " want of a Preaching Ministry, and a competent  
 " maintenance for them; the over-strict pressing  
 " of divers Ceremonies in the Liturgy and Rubric,  
 " and the pressing other Ceremonies not enjoined  
 " by Law; the Votes of the Popish Lords in the  
 " House of Peers, which was a hindrance of the

The matter  
 they prepared  
 for it.

BOOK IV. “ reformation, and a protection of the malignant Party;  
 “ the preferring such as had adhered to Delinquents,  
 “ and the displeasure showed against those who had  
 “ been used as Witnesses in the Prosecution of  
 “ them; the breaches of the Privileges of Parlia-  
 “ ment; and the managing the great affairs of the  
 “ Realm in Cabinet-Councils by men unknown, and  
 “ not publicly trusted; the preferring men to degrees  
 “ of honor and offices, and displacing others, in  
 “ Parliament-time, and without the consent of that  
 “ Council, and many other particulars; to which  
 “ they thought these Remedies most natural, and  
 “ proper to be applied.

“ That all Privy-Counsellors, and others of trust  
 “ and employment beyond the Seas, should be re-  
 “ moved from their Places, and only such admitted,  
 “ as should be recommended to the King by both  
 “ Houses of Parliament; and that such Counsellors  
 “ and Officers, as should be so displaced, and not  
 “ again recommended, should not have access to  
 “ the Courts of the King and Queen: that all Priests,  
 “ Papists, and ill affected persons, though pro-  
 “ fessing the Protestant Religion, should be removed  
 “ from the Queen’s person, and from having any  
 “ Office or employment under her, and that all her  
 “ Servants should take Such an Oath as should be  
 “ devised by Parliament; that he, or she would  
 “ not at any time directly, or indirectly by Him,  
 “ or Herself, or any other, move or petition, or  
 “ solicit her Majesty in any matter concerning the  
 “ State, and Government of the Kingdom, or con-  
 “ cerning any favor or immunity to be conferred

“ upon any Papists, or for any honor, preferment, B O O K  
 “ or employment of any person whatsoever. IV.

“ That the King would remove from about his  
 “ own person, and the Queen’s, and from both their  
 “ Courts, Mr. *William Murray*, Mr. *Porter*, Mr.  
 “ *John Winter*, and Mr. *William Crofts*, being all  
 “ persons of evil fame, and Disaffection to the  
 “ public Peace and prosperity of the Kingdom, and  
 “ instruments of Jealousy and discontent between  
 “ the King and the Parliament: that the King would  
 “ not entertain any advice or mediation from the  
 “ Queen in matters of Religion, or concerning the  
 “ Government of any of his Dominions, or for the  
 “ placing or displacing of any great Officers, Coun-  
 “ fellors, Ambassadors, or Agents beyond the Seas,  
 “ or any of his Servants attending his Royal per-  
 “ son either in his Bed-Chamber, or Privy-Cham-  
 “ ber, or attending the Prince, or any of the  
 “ Royal issue after they shall attain to the age of  
 “ Five years:

“ That the Queen should take a solemn Oath, in  
 “ the presence of both Houses of Parliament, that  
 “ she would not hereafter give any Counsel, or use  
 “ any mediation to the King, concerning the dispo-  
 “ sing of any Offices or Places above mentioned, or  
 “ at all intermeddle in any affairs of State, or Govern-  
 “ ment of the Kingdom: that all Officers and Coun-  
 “ fellors, that should be employed in any of the Pla-  
 “ ces before mentioned, should take a solemn Oath,  
 “ that they had not made use of any power or media-  
 “ tion of the Queen directly, or indirectly, for their  
 “ preferment, or in obtaining any such Place or em-



- B O O K “ ployment : That the affairs of the Kingdom should  
 IV. “ not be concluded or transacted by the advice of  
 “ Private men, or by any unknown or unsworn  
 “ Counsellors, but such matters as were fit for the  
 “ Council, by the Privy-Counsellors only; and such  
 “ as were fit for the Parliament, by the Parliament  
 “ only;  
 “ That no person whatsoever, under the penalty of  
 “ Treason, should presume to solicit, or further  
 “ any proposition for the Marriage of any of the  
 “ King’s Children with any Prince or Person of the  
 “ Popish Religion; and that no Marriage for any of  
 “ the King’s Children should be concluded with any  
 “ Prince or Person whatsoever, without the Con-  
 “ sent and Advice of both Houses of Parliament:  
 “ That none of the King’s Children, except the  
 “ Princess *Mary* then affianced, should at any time  
 “ go beyond the Seas without the consent of both  
 “ Houses of Parliament; and that no person under  
 “ penalty of High Treason should assist, or attend  
 “ any of his Majesty’s Children in any such voyage  
 “ beyond the Seas, without the like consent of both  
 “ the Houses of Parliament.  
 “ That no Mass, or Popish Service, should be  
 “ said in the Courts of the King or Queen, or in the  
 “ House of any Subject of the Kingdom; and that  
 “ more Laws should be made against the Papists;  
 “ and all the Priests which were condemned, should  
 “ be forthwith executed. That the Votes of Popish  
 “ Lords might be taken away; and a Reformation  
 “ made of the Church-Government, and Liturgy  
 “ by the Parliament; and that no Penalty should be

" incurred for omission of any Ceremony, till the  
 " Reformation should be perfect: That all Delin-  
 " quents should be subject to such penalties and for-  
 " feitures as should be agreed on, and imposed by  
 " Bill. in both Houses of Parliament; That such as  
 " should be declared in Parliament to adhere to any  
 " Delinquents, and had thereupon received any  
 " preferment from the King, should be removed  
 " from such preferment; and such as should be  
 " declared by both Houses to have been employed  
 " and used against Delinquents, and had thereupon  
 " fallen into the King's displeasure, and been put  
 " from their Places, should be restored to their  
 " Places, and his Majesty's favor:

" That every person, who, being a Member of  
 " the House of Commons in that Parliament, had  
 " been accused of any offence against that House,  
 " and, the accusation depending, had been called  
 " up to the House of Lords in the quality of a Peer,  
 " should by Act of Parliament be put out of that  
 " House; and that hereafter no Member of the  
 " House of Commons should without Their con-  
 " sent be called up to be a Peer, except in case of  
 " Descent: That no person, which should here-  
 " after be made a Peer of the Realm, should be  
 " admitted to have his Seat, or Vote in the House  
 " of Peers, without the consent of both Houses of  
 " Parliament: That those Members of the House  
 " of Commons, who had this Parliament been called  
 " to the House of Peers, except in case of Descent  
 " should be excluded from giving their Votes in the  
 " House of Peers, unless both Houses of Parlia-

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“ ment should assent thereunto: That no Member of either House of Parliament should be preferred or displaced, sitting the Parliament, without the consent of that House, whereof he was a Member: That Such of either House as had been preferred to any Place, or Office, during the Parliament, might be put out of those Places: That the King would declare the Names of those who advised him to the accusation of the Members, and all the particulars that ensued upon that accusation; and that he would make public Declaration and promise in Parliament, never more to receive information from any man to the prejudice of any Member of either House, for any thing done in that House, without discovering the Name of such person who gave him such information.”

These, and many other particulars of the like nature, were the results of that Committee at *Grocers-Hall*; which I insert here, being the proper time of their Birth, that the world may see, what their Projections were in the Infancy of their visible power and advantage, though they were not digested into avowed Propositions till long after, as the effects of riper divisions, and fuller grown jealousies. For by that time they had shaped and framed these Devices, they found the eyes of the People not so universally shut as they had been; and that the King's Coming to the House of Commons, or the accusing the Members, was not more spoken of than the Tumults, and the Driving the King out of *London*, and not suffering him to be quiet at *Hampton-Court*. Then the Lords begun to take New courage, and though

they were somewhat intoxicated with the fears and jealousies concerning their Privileges, yet they thought Trespases of that kind capable of reparation, and so were willing to receive any Overture from the King to that purpose. It was concluded therefore, "the time was not yet ripe to do all at once, till "more men were engaged," and resolved, "with "more patience to win their ground by inches."

The King continued at *Windfor* to expect the end, or the issue of this tempest; and finding that they hardly would take notice of his former Messages, but proceeded in the High-ways of Destruction, for he had advertisement of their most secret combinations, resolved to send such a Message to the two Houses, whose United reputation was yet too great to struggle with, as might at least divide Those, who desired the public Peace, from the Ministers of Confusion: and so on the 20th of *January* sent this proposition

and Message to them in writing; "For preventing "those evils, which the manifold Distractions "threatened to the Kingdom; that They would with "all speed fall into a serious consideration of all those "particulars, which they held necessary, as well for "the upholding and maintaining the King's just and "Regal Authority, and the settling his Revenue, as "for the present and future establishment of Their "Privileges, the free and quiet enjoying of their "Estates, and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the security of the true Religion now professed in the Church of *England*, and the settling of "Ceremonies in such a manner, as might take away "all Just offence; which when they should have di-

B O O K

IV.

The King's  
proposition  
and Message to  
both Houses  
Jan. 20.



BOOK IV. “gested, and composed into one entire body, that  
 “so his Majesty and themselves might be able to  
 “make the more clear judgment of them, it should  
 “then appear, by what his Majesty would do, how  
 “far he had been from intending or designing any of  
 “those things, which the too great Fears and Jealousies  
 “of some persons seemed to apprehend; and how  
 “ready he would be to equal and exceed the greatest  
 “examples of the most Indulgent Princes in their  
 “Acts of grace and favor to their People; so that if  
 “all the present Distractions, which so apparently  
 “threatened the ruin of the Kingdom, did not, by  
 “the Blessing of Almighty God, end in a happy and  
 “blessed accommodation, his Majesty would Then  
 “be ready to call Heaven and Earth, God and Man,  
 “to witness, that it had not failed on His part.”

This Message was received by the Lords with great signs, of joy, insomuch that they desired the Commons to join with them in returning their thanks to his Majesty for his Gracious offers, and to assure him, “that they would forthwith apply themselves  
 “to those considerations, he proposed.” However the next day they joined together in a Petition to the King, “that he would, in very few days,  
 “send in his Proofs, and Proceed against the  
 “Members he had accused of High-Treason, or  
 “declare Them to be Innocent, and Himself to be  
 “ill advised;” to the which he Answered, “that he  
 “was ready to proceed against them, but that there  
 “might be no new mistakes in the way, and Form  
 “of the proceedings, he desired, that it might be  
 “first resolved, whether his Majesty were bound in

Both Houses  
 Petition the  
 King about the  
 accused  
 Members.

His Majesty's  
 Answer.

“ respect of Privileges to proceed against them by B O O K  
 “ Impeachment in Parliament, or whether he were IV.  
 “ at liberty to prefer an Indictment at Common Law  
 “ in the usual way, or whether he had his choice of  
 “ either; before that was resolved his Majesty thought  
 “ it unusual and unfit to discover what Proof he had  
 “ against them; but then he would give such speedy  
 “ direction for Prosecution, as might put a determi-  
 “ nation to the business.”

This gave them New offence and trouble; and if the King's Council had had the courage to have insisted upon the matter of Law, and the Lords would have given them reasonable countenance, they would have been much puzzled to have procured a Resolution, that would have served their purposes to all parts, and been content to have suspended Their judgment, that so the King might have suspended his prosecution. For if the Judges had been called to deliver their opinions in point of Law, which they ought to have been, they could not have avoided the declaring, that by the known Law, which had been confessed in all times and ages, no Privileges of Parliament could extend in the case of Treason; but that every Parliament-man was Then in the condition of every other Subject, and to be proceeded against accordingly. In the next place, as they would never have ventured themselves upon the House of Peers under an Impeachment, and thereby made Them their judges, which indeed was incongruous, every Subject being to be tried for his Life *per Pares, vel per Legem terræ*, to both which the Lords, and the Impeachment, were directly opposite; so they would

B O O K less have trusted an Indictment at Law, and a  
 IV. well chosen sober Jury, who had been bound to follow their evidence of Fact, and were not Judges of the Law, which was severe in any Conspiracy against the Crown, or the Persons of King or Queen.

But having shut the doors against any mention of Law, they made no scruple of resolving, and answering his Majesty, “ that they were first to see the  
 “ evidence he had to prove the guilt, before they  
 “ could give any direction for the manner of the  
 “ Prosecution, and proceeding;” which they grounded upon a Maxim, they had but lately established, though never till then heard of; “ that no Member of  
 “ Parliament, for what Offence soever could be  
 “ Arrested or proceeded against but by the consent  
 “ of that House of which he was a Member; and  
 “ then, they said, they could not give, or deny  
 “ their consent by any other measure than the  
 “ Knowledge of the Crime and Proof, upon which  
 “ such Member stood accused.” Which Conclusion had been reasonable had the Premises been just; whereas the argument was to be inverted, that Their consent was not to be asked, because they had no Cognizance of the Crime of which their Members were accused, nor were Judges whether their accusation, were valid in Law, or sufficiently proved in Fact.

Observation  
 touching Privilege of Par-  
 liament.

It is not to be believed how many sober, well-minded men, who were real Lovers of the Peace of the Kingdom, and had a full submission, and reverence to the Known Laws, were imposed upon,

and had their Understandings confounded, and so their Wills perverted, by the mere mention of Privilege of Parliament; which, instead of the plain, and intelligible notion of it, was by the dexterity of those Bouteuseus, and their under-Agents of the Law, and the Supine Sottishness of the People, rendered such a mystery, as could be only explained by Themselves, and extended as far as they found necessary for their occasions, and was to be acknowledged a good reason for any thing that no Other reason could be given for. “We are, say they, “and have been always confessed, the only Judges “of our own Privileges; and therefore whatsoever “we declare to be our Privilege, is such: otherwise “whosoever determines that it is Not so, makes “himself Judge of that, whereof the Cognizance “only belongs to Us.” And this Sophistical Riddle perplexed many, who, notwithstanding the desperate Consequence they saw must result from such Logic, taking the first Proposition for true, which, being rightly understood, is so, have not been able to wind themselves out of the Labyrinth of the Conclusion: I say the Proposition Rightly understood: They are the only Judges of their own Privileges, that is, upon the Breach of those Privileges, which the Law hath declared to be their own, and what punishment is to be inflicted upon such Breach. But there can be no Privilege, of which the Law doth not take notice, and which is not pleadable by, and at Law.

The truth and clearness of this will best appear by Instance: If I am Arrested by Process out of



BOOK any Court, I am to plead in the Court, that I am  
 IV. a Member of Parliament, and that, by the Privilege of Parliament, my Person ought to be free from Arrests. Upon this Plea the Judge is bound to discharge me; and if he does not, he is a Criminal, as for any other trespass against the Law: but the punishing the Person, who hath made this infringement, is not within His power, but proper to that Jurisdiction, against which the contempt is; therefore that House, of which I am a Member, upon complaint made of such an Arrest, usually sends for the persons culpable, the party at whose Suit the Arrest is made, and the Officers which executed it, and commits them to Prison, till they make acknowledgment of their Offence. But that House never sends, at least never did till this Parliament, any Order to the Court out of which the Process issued, to stay the proceedings at Law, because the Privilege ought to be legally pleaded. So, after the Dissolution of Parliament, If I am Arrested within the days of Privilege, upon any plea of Privilege the Court discharges me; but then the Party that Arrests me, escapes punishment till the next Parliament, the Judge having no more power to commit the man that sued or arrested me, than he hath to imprison a man for bringing an Action at Law, when he hath no good title; neither is He Judge of the contempt.

Again, if a man brings an Information, or an Action of the Case, for words spoken by me, and I plead that the words were spoken by me in Parliament, when I was a Member there, and that it

is against the Privilege of Parliament, that I should be impleaded in any other place, for the words I spoke There; I ought to be discharged from this Action or Information, because this Privilege is known, and pleadable at Law; but That Judge can neither punish, nor examine the breach of Privilege, nor Censure the contempt. And this is the true and proper meaning of the old received Axiom, that they are Judges Only of their own Privileges.

And indeed these two, of freedom from Arrests for their Persons (which originally hath not been of that latitude to make a Parliament a Sanctuary for Bankrupts, where any person out-lawed hath been declared incapable of being returned thither a Member) and of liberty of Speech, were accounted their chiefest Privileges of Parliament: For their other, of Access to the King, and correspondence by Conference with the Lords, are rather of the Essence of their Councils, than Privileges belonging to them. But that their being Judges of their Privileges should qualify them to make New Privileges, or that their Judgment should Create them such, as it was a doctrine never before Now heard of, so it could not but produce all those Monstrous effects we have seen; when they have assumed to swallow all the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, the Liberties and Lands of the Church, the Power and Jurisdiction of the Peers, in a word, the Religion, Laws, and Liberties of *England*, in the bottomless and insatiable Gulph of their own Privileges. And no doubt these invasions, on pretence of Privilege, will hereafter be judged to have been the most

B O O K  
IV.

## B O O K

## IV.

The Lords  
and Commons  
differ about  
addressing  
for removing  
Sir John By-  
ron from  
the Tower.

unparalleled, and capital Breach of those Privileges, that had ever yet been attempted.

In the Address, which the House of Commons prepared for acknowledgment of the King's Grace and favor in his Message of the twentieth of *January*, they had desired, " that for a ground of their Confidence, and removal of Jealousies, that they might apply themselves to give his Majesty satisfaction in the Method he proposed, his Majesty would presently put the Tower of *London* into the hands of such a person, as Both Houses should recommend to him," in which the Lords Differed with them; as well for that the disposal of the custody thereof was the King's peculiar Right and Prerogative, as likewise that his Majesty had committed the charge thereof to Sir *John Byron*, a person of a very Ancient family, an honorable extraction, and good Fortune, and as unblemished a Reputation, as any Gentleman of *England*. The Commons, much troubled that the Lords should Again take the courage to dissent from them in any thing, resolved to press the King upon their Own score, and to get the recommendation of so great an Officer to Themselves.

The Commons by themselves Petition the King to do it, and to put all the other Forts, and the Militia into the hands of

And therefore on the six-and-twentieth day of *January*, they sent a Petition to him in the name of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses; of the Commons House assembled in Parliament; in which they took notice " of the gracious Message from his Majesty of the twentieth instant, for which they returned most humble thanks, resolving to take it into speedy and serious consideration; and  
said,

" said, to enable them with security to discharge B O O K  
 " their duties therein, they had desired the House IV.  
 " of Peers to join with them, in humbly beseeching Confiding  
 " his Majesty to raise up unto them a sure ground men.  
 " of Safety and Confidence, by putting the Tower,  
 " and other principal Forts of the Kingdom, and  
 " the whole Militia thereof, into the hands of  
 " Such persons as his Parliament might Confide in,  
 " and as should be recommended unto him by Both  
 " Houses of Parliament; that, all Fears and Jealousies  
 " being laid aside, they might with cheerfulness  
 " proceed to such Resolutions, as they hoped would  
 " lay a sure foundation of Honor, Greatness, and  
 " Glory to his Majesty, and his Royal Posterity,  
 " and of happiness and prosperity unto his Subjects  
 " throughout all his Dominions; wherein the House  
 " of Peers had refused to join with them. But they,  
 " notwithstanding, no way discouraged, but con-  
 " fiding in his Majesty's goodness to his people, did  
 " therefore make their humble Address to him to  
 " beseech him, that the Tower of *London*, and other  
 " principal Forts, and the whole Militia of the  
 " Kingdom, might be put into the hands of such  
 " persons as should be recommended to him by the  
 " House of Commons; not doubting but they should  
 " receive a Gracious, and speedy Answer to that  
 " their humble Desire, without which, in all Hu-  
 " man reason, the great Distractions of the Kingdom  
 " must needs overwhelm it with misery and Ruin."

The King was not troubled at the receipt of this  
 Petition, glad, that since they could not be brought  
 to such a degree of Reasonableness, as might make



B O O K up all breaches, they would be so preptorily Un-  
 IV. reasonable as might probably sever Thole from them  
 who were not so Desperate as themselves; and he  
 hoped, that when the People should observe that  
 this grasping of the Miliria of the Kingdom into  
 their own hands, as an Expedient for the composing  
 their high-grown Fears and Jealousies, was no more  
 than they desired the Summer before, when Sir  
*Arthur Haflerig* brought in his Bill into the House  
 of Commons, which is before remembered, when  
 that title of Fears and Jealousies was not discovered;  
 and when the Peers should observe, that the House  
 of Commons insolently Demanded, by their own  
 Single Suffrage, the deputing men to Places of that  
 vast Importance, they would both conclude, that  
 those Immodest Askers were not only fit to be  
 Denied, but Reformed: yet believing that Real and  
 Just Fears might grow up, to discountenance and  
 suppress those Imaginary ones, his Majesty vouch-  
 safed a very soft and gentle Answer to that Petition;  
 and told them, “ that he hoped his gracious Message  
 His Majesty’s “ would have produced some such Overture, as  
 Answer. “ by offering what was fit on Their parts to do,  
 “ and by asking what was proper for Him to grant,  
 “ might have begot a mutual Confidence in each  
 “ other. Concerning the Tower of *London*, that He  
 “ did not expect, having preferred a person of a  
 “ known Fortune, and unquestionable Reputation,  
 “ to that Trust, that he should have been pressed  
 “ to remove him without any particular Charge  
 “ objected against him; however, that if, upon due  
 “ examination, any particular should be presented

“ to him, whereby it might appear he was mistaken,  
 “ in his good opinion of that Gentleman, and that  
 “ he was unfit for the Trust committed to him, he  
 “ would make no scruple of discharging him; other-  
 “ wise, he was oblig’d in justice to himself, to  
 “ preserve his Own work, lest his Favor and good  
 “ Opinion might prove a Disadvantage and Mis-  
 “ fortune to his Servants, without any other Accu-  
 “ sation; of which he hoped his House of Commons  
 “ would be so tender, as of a business, wherein  
 “ his Honor was much concerned, as if they found  
 “ no material Exceptions against that person, they  
 “ would rather endeavour to satisfy and Reform  
 “ the Fears of other men, than, by complying with  
 “ them, press his Majesty to any thing which did  
 “ so much reflect upon his Honor, and Justice.”

“ For the Forts and Castles of the Kingdom, that  
 “ he was resolv’d they should always be in such  
 “ hands, and Only in such, as the Parliament might  
 “ safely Confide in; but the Nomination of any  
 “ persons to those Places, being so principal and  
 “ inseparable a flower of his Crown, vested in him,  
 “ and derived to him from his Ancestors by the  
 “ fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, he would  
 “ reserve to Himself; in bestowing whereof, as he  
 “ would take care that no corrupt or Sinister courses  
 “ should prevail with him, so he was willing to  
 “ declare, that he should not be induced to express  
 “ that Favor so soon to any persons, as to Those,  
 “ whose good Demeanour should be Eminent in, or to  
 “ his Parliament. And if he then had, or should at  
 “ any time, by misinformation confer such a Trust

B O O K “ upon an Undeserving Person, he was, and would  
 IV. “ always be, ready to leave him to the Wisdom  
 “ and Justice of the Parliament.

“ For the Militia of the Kingdom, which by the  
 “ Law was subject to no Command but of his Ma-  
 “ jesty, and of Authority lawfully derived from  
 “ him, he said, when any particular course for  
 “ ordering the same should be considered, and diges-  
 “ ted, and proposed to him, he would return such  
 “ an Answer as should be agreeable to his Honor,  
 “ and the Safety of his People, he being resolved  
 “ only to deny those things, the Granting whereof  
 “ would alter the fundamental Laws, and endan-  
 “ ger the very foundation, upon which the Public  
 “ happiness and welfare of his People was founded  
 “ and constituted, and which would nourish a great-  
 “ er, and more destructive Jealousy between the  
 “ Crown, and the Subject, than any of those,  
 “ which would seem to be taken away by such a  
 “ satisfaction.

“ He said, he was not willing to doubt, that his  
 “ having granted more than ever King had granted,  
 “ would persuade Them to ask more than ever Sub-  
 “ jects had asked: but if they should acquaint him  
 “ with the particular grounds of their Doubts and  
 “ their Fears, he would very willingly apply Re-  
 “ medies proportionable to those Fears; for he cal-  
 “ led God to witness, that the preservation of the  
 “ Public Peace, the Law, and the Liberty of the  
 “ Subject, was, and should always be, as much  
 “ his Care, as his own Life, or the Lives of his  
 “ dearest Children.

“ And therefore he did conjure them by all the  
 “ acts of Favor they had received from him this  
 “ Parliament, by their hopes of future happiness in  
 “ his Majesty, and in one another, by their love  
 “ of Religion, and the Peace of the Kingdom, in  
 “ which, he said, that of *Ireland* was included,  
 “ that they would not be transported by Jealousies,  
 “ and apprehensions of Possible dangers, to put  
 “ themselves or his Majesty, into Real and Present  
 “ inconveniences; but that they would speedily  
 “ pursue the way proposed by his former Message,  
 “ which, in Human Reason, was the only way to  
 “ compose the Distractions of the Kingdom, and,  
 “ with God’s blessing, would restore a great measure  
 “ of felicity to King and People.”

This Answer being not only a denial, but such an Expostulation as would render their Counsels of less reverence to the People, if upon those reasons they should recede from what they had with that Confidence, and disdain of the House of Peers demanded of the King; they therefore resolved to set up their rest upon that stake, and to go through with it, or perish in the attempt. And, to this purpose, they again muster up their Friends in the City, and send their Emissaries abroad to teach the People a new Language. All Petitions must now desire, “ that the Kingdom might be put into a  
 “ posture of Defence, and nothing else would serve  
 “ to defend them from the many Plots and Conspiracies against them, or secure them from their  
 “ own Fears and Jealousies.” More Petitions were presented to the House of Commons by some Citizens



B O O K of *London*, in the name of those Merchants, that  
 IV. usually Traded to the Mint with Bullion, who pretended “that their Fears and Jealousies were so great,  
 “that they durst not carry their Bullion to the Tower,  
 “being not satisfied with the present Lieutenant  
 “there; and therefore desired that he might be removed; and more to the like purpose.”

The Commons  
 desire to borrow  
 money  
 of the City.

They had wholly undertaken the managing of the War in *Ireland*, and really, for many reasons, neither did use, nor desired to use, any great Expedition in that work; yet having with great industry infused into the minds of the People at least a suspicion that the Court favored that Rebellion, they always made use of the slowness in those proceedings to the King's disadvantage. About that time, they had desired the City to furnish them with one hundred thousand pounds, for the Levying, and accommodating Forces to be sent into that Kingdom, which gave the Common-Council, where such business was always transacted, opportunity to return their opinions, and advice upon the general State of Affairs.

The Common-  
 Council's  
 Answer.

They said, “they could lend no more Money, by reason of those obstructions, which threatened the Peace of this Kingdom, and had rendered it even desperate: that the not passing the Bill against Pressing of Soldiers, which still depended with the Lords, upon those reasons formerly mentioned at large, put many Men into fears, that there was some design rather to lose That Kingdom, and to consume This in the loss of it, than to preserve either the one, or the other; and that the Rebels were grown so strong

“ there, that they made account speedily to extirpate  
 “ the British Nation in that Kingdom; and that they  
 “ intended Then, as they already bragged, to come  
 “ over, and make This the Seat of the War.

“ That the not putting the Forts into such hands,  
 “ in whom the Parliament might Confide, the not  
 “ settling the Kingdom in a posture of Defence,  
 “ the not removing the present Lieutenant of the  
 “ Tower, and putting such a Person into that place,  
 “ as might be well approved by the Parliament,  
 “ could not but overthrow Trading more and more,  
 “ and make Moneys yet more scarce in the City and  
 “ Kingdom. That the misunderstanding between  
 “ the King and Parliament, the not vindicating the  
 “ Privileges thereof, the charging some Members  
 “ of Treason to the deterring of others from dis-  
 “ charging their Duties, and to the destroying the  
 “ very Being of Parliaments, did exceedingly fill  
 “ the minds of Men well affected to the Public, with  
 “ many fears and discouragements; and so disable  
 “ them from yielding that cheerful assistance, which  
 “ they would be glad to afford. That by this  
 “ means, there was such a decay of Trading, and  
 “ such scarcity of Money, neither of which could  
 “ be cured, till the former evils were removed, as  
 “ it was like, in very short time, to cast innumer-  
 “ able multitudes of poor Artificers into such a depth  
 “ of Poverty and Extremity, as might enforce them  
 “ upon some dangerous and desperate Attempts,  
 “ not fit to be Expressed, much less to be Justified;  
 “ which they left to the House speedily to consider,  
 “ and prevent. These evils, under which they did

BOOK IV. “ exceedingly labor and languish, they said, did  
 “ spring from the employing of ill affected persons  
 “ in places of Trust and Honor in the State, and  
 “ near to the person of the King; and that they were  
 “ still continued by means of the Votes of Bishops,  
 “ and Popish Lords, in the House of Peers. And  
 “ so having faithfully represented, they said, the  
 “ true reasons, which really enforced them to return  
 “ that Answer, they craved leave to protest before  
 “ God and the High Court of Parliament, that if  
 “ any further miseries beset their dear Brethren in  
 “ *Ireland*, or if any mischief should break in upon  
 “ this Kingdom, to the endangering or disturbing  
 “ the peace thereof, it ought not to be imputed to  
 “ Them, but only to such, who should endeavour  
 “ to hinder the effectual and speedy cure of those  
 “ evils before recited, which did so much disable  
 “ and discourage them from doing that which the  
 “ House had desired of them.”

Petitions  
 likewise  
 from several  
 Counties con-  
 cerning the  
*Appia*.

At the same time, were presented other Petitions, subscribed by many thousand hands, and in the names of the Knights, Gentlemen, and Freeholders, and other Inhabitants, of the Counties of *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Hertford*; all which severally inveighed against the Malignant Party, which rendered the good endeavours of the House of Commons fruitless; “ desired that the Votes of the Bishops, and Popish  
 “ Lords, might be taken out of the House of Peers;  
 “ that they might be put into a posture of defence,  
 “ and the Forts, and Castles of the Kingdom, into  
 “ such hands as the Parliament might Confide in:  
 “ that so *Ireland* might be relieved, and This King-

dom made happy. One of them adding, that the  
 “ Malignant Party of Prelates and Papists, and their  
 “ adherents, were inconsistent with the happy suc-  
 “ cess of the Parliament.” These Petitions, and the  
 Answer of the Common-Council of *London*, were  
 thought ample materials for a Conference with the  
 Lords, who might be thereby remembered of their  
 Duty; and to that purpose Mr. Pym delivered them  
 at a Conference, and after they were read, told  
 them, that their Lordships might “ in those Petitions  
 “ hear the voice, or rather the Cry of all *England*;  
 “ and that they were not to wonder if the urgency,  
 “ the Extremity of the condition we were all in, did  
 “ produce some earnestness and vehemency of ex-  
 “ pression more than ordinary; the agony, terror,  
 “ and perplexity, in which the Kingdom labored,  
 “ was universal, all parts were affected with it; and  
 “ therefore in those Petitions they might observe  
 “ the Groans and miserable complaints of all.” After  
 a long discourse of the great and notorious dangers  
 the Kingdom was in, by Invasions threatened from  
 abroad, and Insurrections from within, he told  
 them, “ the Obstructions, that had brought them  
 “ into that Distemper, were principally the obstruc-  
 “ tion of Reformation in matters of Religion; and  
 “ that there was never Church or State afflicted with  
 “ more grievances of That kind, than we had  
 “ been; and that though they were partly eased and  
 “ diminished by the wisdom of the Parliament, yet  
 “ many still remained; and as long as the Bishops,  
 “ and the corrupt part of the Clergy, continued in  
 “ their power, there would be little hope of free-

B O O K  
 IV.

Mr. Pym  
 delivers the  
 Petitions to  
 the Lords at  
 a Conference.



B O O K

IV.

“ dom, either from the sense of those that continued,  
 “ or the fear of those which were removed And  
 “ of That obstruction, he said, he must clear the  
 “ Commons, who were in no part guilty of it.  
 “ Some good Bills they had already passed, and  
 “ others were in preparation, and might have been  
 “ passed before that time, if they had not found  
 “ such ill success in the other House: whatsoever  
 “ mischief that obstruction should produce, They  
 “ were free from it; they might have their part of  
 “ the Misery they could have none in the Guilt  
 “ or Dishonor.

“ He told them there was great obstruction in  
 “ Trade, which brought food and nourishment to  
 “ the Kingdom; and then having engaged himself  
 “ with enumeration of the notable benefits the King-  
 “ dom received by the fulness of Trade, he said,  
 “ he must protest, the House of Commons had given  
 “ no cause to That obstruction. They had eased  
 “ Trade of many burdens, and heavy taxes, and  
 “ had freed it from many hard restraints by Patents  
 “ and Monopolies; they had sought to put the Mer-  
 “ chants into security and confidence in respect of  
 “ the Tower of *London*, that so they might be in-  
 “ vited to bring in their Bullion to the Mint, as  
 “ heretofore they had done; they were no way guilty  
 “ of the troubles, the Fears, and Public dangers,  
 “ which made men withdraw their stocks, and keep  
 “ their money by them, to be ready for such sudden  
 “ exigents, as, in those great distractions, they had  
 “ too great cause to expect.

“ There was an obstruction, he said, in the relief

“ of *Ireland*. but he must declare the Commons were  
 “ altogether innocent of any neglect therein; they  
 “ had agreed to the Levies of men and money, and,  
 “ from time to time, done all the furtherance there-  
 “ of, though in the midst of many distractions  
 “ and diversions; but the want of Commissions for  
 “ levying men, that was the Bill about Pressing, and  
 “ divers other impediments, had been the causes of  
 “ That obstruction. Nay, he said, he did not only  
 “ find impediments to themselves, but encourage-  
 “ ment to the Rebels; for many of the chief Com-  
 “ manders now in the head of the Rebels, after  
 “ both Houses had stopped the Ports against all  
 “ Irish Papists, had been suffered to Pass, by his  
 “ Majesty’s immediate Warrants, much to the dis-  
 “ couragement of the Lords Justices and Council  
 “ there, which were procured by some evil instru-  
 “ ments too near his Royal person, and, they be-  
 “ lieved, without his Knowledge and intention.  
 “ He said, there was an obstruction in providing  
 “ for the defence of the Kingdom, that they might  
 “ be enabled to resist a foreign Enemy, and to  
 “ suppress all civil Insurrections: what endeavour  
 “ they had used to remove them, but hitherto  
 “ without that success and Concurrence which they  
 “ expected, and where their Stop had been, and  
 “ upon what grounds they might proclaim their  
 “ own Innocency and faithfulness in That particular,  
 “ they desired no other witnesses but their Lordships.  
 “ He told them, the evil Influences, which had  
 “ caused that Distemper, were the evil Councils  
 “ about the King, the great power, that a Factious

B O O K  
 IV.

B O O K “ and Interested Party had in Parliament by the  
 IV. “ continuance of the Votes of the Bishops, and  
 “ Popish Lords, in their Lordship’s House, and the  
 “ taking in of others out of the House of Commons,  
 “ and otherwise to increase their strength, the fo-  
 “ menting a Malignant Party throughout the King-  
 “ dom, the Jealousies between the King and his  
 “ Parliament.” And after many bitter and Seditious  
 expressions of the Court, and of all those who were  
 not of His mind, he concluded, “ that he had no-  
 “ thing to propose to their Lordships by way of  
 “ request or desire from the House of Commons;  
 “ he doubted not, but their Judgments would tell  
 “ them what was to be done; their Consciences,  
 “ their Honors, their Interests, would call upon  
 “ them for the doing of it. The Commons would  
 “ be glad to have their help and Concurrence in  
 “ saving the Kingdom; but if their Lordships should  
 “ fail, it should not discourage Them in doing  
 “ Their duty; and whether the Kingdom be lost, or  
 “ saved, they should be sorry, that the story of  
 “ this present Parliament should tell posterity, that,  
 “ in so great danger and extremity, the House of  
 “ Commons should be inforced to save the King-  
 “ dom Alone, and that the House of Peers should  
 “ have no part in the Honor of the preservation of  
 “ it, they having so great an interest in the good  
 “ success of those endeavours, in respect of their  
 “ great Estates and high degrees of Nobility.”

As soon as this Conference was ended, the Speaker  
 of the House of Commons was appointed to give Mr.  
*Pym* solemn thanks for his so well performing that

service, and to require him to deliver his Speech in writing to the House, that it might be printed; which was done accordingly, to the end that the people might understand, besides those reproaches upon the King, how negligent the House of Peers were of their welfare and security.

The same day and hour after that Conference, a great number of people, in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Hertford*, presented a Petition to the House of Peers; in which, amongst other particulars, "they complained of the delay of putting the Kingdom into a posture of War for their better defence, and the want of compliance by that Honorable House with the House of Commons. in entertaining those many good Motions, and Passing those necessary Bills presented to them from that House for the Common Good. And therefore they desired them, for the better removing of all the causes and springs of their Fears and troubles, that the evil Counsellors, and others hindering the Public Good, might be taken from his Majesty, and the voting of the Bishops and Popish Lords, to be removed out of that Honorable House: And that the Petitioners, who would be ever ready to hazard their Lives and Estates for the defence of the King and Parliament, the Privileges of the same, and in special those noble Lords and Gentlemen in both Houses, whose endeavours were for the Public Good, might have liberty to Protest against all those, as Enemies to the Kingdom, who refused to join with those Honorable Lords and the House of

B O O K

IV.

His Speech  
printed by  
Order.



B O O K IV. “ Commons, for the putting the Kingdom into a  
 “ way of Safety, under the Command of such per-  
 “ sons, as the Parliament should appoint.” But  
 neither this, nor any of the other Proceedings were  
 resented by the House of Peers, though their Pri-  
 vileges were not only invaded, but the very Free-  
 dom and liberty of Parliament absolutely taken away  
 and destroyed thereby.

When the House of Commons found that none  
 of these extraordinary ways would thoroughly sub-  
 due the House of Lords, but that, though they had  
 very sturdy Champions there, the Ministers, and  
 the Bishops, and all the Recusant Lords, were driven  
 from thence, still opposed them: when they presented  
 the Bill for the taking away the Bishops’ Votes  
 about Pressing, could pass, and that they peremptorily  
 still refused to join in the business of the House,  
 they found a New way, as Unpracticable, as any  
 natural as any of the former, whereby they might  
 be sure to have an influence upon the House of  
 Peers. It is an old Custom, and Privilege of that  
 House, that upon any solemn debate, whosoever  
 is not satisfied with the conclusion and judgment  
 of the House, may demand leave to enter his Pro-  
 testation, which must be granted. The Original of  
 this was in Jealous times, when men desired, for  
 avoiding the ill consequence of any Act there, that  
 their Dissents might appear; and was very seldom  
 practised, but when they conceived Religion, or  
 the Crown, trenched upon; insomuch as you shall  
 not find, in the Journals of many Parliaments, one  
 Protestation entered; and when there was any, there

was no more in the Records, than, after the Resolution of the House is entered, "that such a Lord desired that his Protestation or dissent might be entered," and oftentimes when several have dissented from the general opinion, not above one or two have entered their Protestation. But since this Parliament, as they altered this Custom from cases of High Concernment to the most trivial Debates, the Minor part ordinarily entering their Protestation, to the end that their opinions might be taken notice of, and who were opposite to them, whereby the Good and Bad Lords were known and published; so they altered the form, and instead of short general entries, caused the matter of Debate to be summed up, and thereupon their Protestation, "that They were not to be answerable for any inconveniences that should befall the Commonwealth by reason of this or that Resolution." So that from an Act for the particular Indemnity of the person, that made it, it grew sometimes to be a reproaching and arraigning the sense of the House by any Factious number that disagreed. Then because the House of Peers is a Court of Record, they concluded, "that any man upon any occasion might peruse the Journals;" and so every night the House of Commons could see how the Debates had been managed and carried all the Day, and take public notice, and make use of it accordingly, which they could not do of those discourses they received from their Confidants; for supplying whereof this Unjustifiable method was found out. For though it is a Court of Record, the highest Court, and the Acts

**B O O K** and judgments of Parliament are Records, to which  
**IV.** the Subject may upon all occasions resort, yet they ought not to make use of that Liberty in order to question any words spoken, or Acts done, and remembered There; of which if the Lords are not the only Judges, their Privileges are much less than the Commons in truth have, and may Justly claim.

It happened, about this time, that upon some Overture in the Lords House, which pleased them not, the Violent Party there, in a disorderly manner, cried out, *Adjourn, Adjourn*, being not willing the matter should Then come into debate; others were not willing that the House should Adjourn. The Duke of *Richmond* troubled at that Tumultuary and indirect proceeding, said, without directing himself to the Speaker, "if they would Adjourn, he wished "it might be for six Months, or words to that "effect;" upon which some of the other Party immediately Moved, "that the House might Not rise, "and that the Duke would explain himself, and "answer the making such a Motion, as, being "granted, would be destructive to the Common- "wealth." The Duke said, "he made no Motion, "but used that Expression, to show his dislike of "the other Motion to Adjourn at that time, when "there was business in agitation of great Concern- "ment; and that, when he spoke, all men being "upon their feet, and out of their places, he con- "ceived the House had been Up." Upon this he was required to withdraw; and then they, who had long looked upon him with great envy and animosity, as the only great Person, and Officer at Court,

Court, who had discountenanced their power, and their stratagems, and had with notable Courage always opposed their extravagancies, and Servile complying with the House of Commons, and submitting to the Tumults, and had with singular Constancy preserved his Duty and Fidelity to his Majesty unviolated, inveighed against that Motion, “ as of  
 “ too Serious a nature to be made a Jest of, and fit  
 “ to be censured as most pernicious to This King-  
 “ dom, and destructive to *Ireland*; the War whereof  
 “ could not proceed, if the Parliament should have  
 “ been Adjourned for six Months, as his Lord-  
 “ ship had proposed.

On the other side, it was alledged, “ that the Mo-  
 “ tion had never been made to the House; and there-  
 “ fore they ought no more to question, or take  
 “ notice of it, than of every light or frolic discourse  
 “ or Expression, that negligently, or casually fell  
 “ from any Man; which would take away all  
 “ liberty of Conversation. However, that if it had  
 “ been Seriously, and formally made, it could be  
 “ no Crime, it being the necessary liberty and Pri-  
 “ vilege of every Member, to make any Motion  
 “ he thought in His judgment fit, which the House  
 “ would approve, or reject, as it found reasonable.  
 “ And that, since it was as much in the House’s power  
 “ to Adjourn for six Months, as for six Days, it was  
 “ as lawful to move the one, as the other; of which  
 “ there could not be the least inconvenience, because  
 “ the House would be sure to reject it, if it were not  
 “ found proper.” After a very fierce, and eager  
 debate, in which much Bitterness and Virulency was



B O O K expressed, it was Resolved by the Major part, " that  
 IV. " the Duke had committed no Offence;" and so he was  
 as regularly absolved as was possible. Hereupon the  
 Earls of *Northumberland*, *Pembroke*, *Essex*, and *Hol-*  
*land*, who thought the Duke's affection and Duty to  
 his Master a Reproach, and his interest prejudicial to  
 Them, with the rest of that Party entered their Protef-  
 tation; " that whereas such a Motion had been made  
 " by the Duke of *Richmond*, and upon being question-  
 " ed for the same, he had been acquitted by the Major  
 " part, They were free from the mischiefs and incon-  
 " veniences, which might attend the not punishing  
 " of an Offence tending so much to the Prejudice of  
 " King or Kingdom."

This Protestation, by the advice of that Night's  
 meeting, was the next day, taken notice of in the  
 House of Commons, and the matter itself of the  
 Motion enlarged upon, by all possible and Rhetorical  
 aggravations, concerning the Person, and his In-  
 terest, according to the licence of that House, and  
 that People. It was said, " here was an evil Coun-  
 " sellor, that had discovered himself, and no doubt  
 " had been the Author of many of those evil Coun-  
 " sels, which had brought that trouble upon us;  
 " that he had received his Education in *Spain*, and  
 " had been made a Grandee of that Kingdom, and  
 " had been ever since notoriously of that Faction;  
 " that his Sisters were Papists, and therefore his  
 " affection was to be questioned in Religion; that,  
 " from the beginning of this Parliament, he had been  
 " opposite to all their proceedings, and was an  
 " Enemy to Reformation; that he had vehemently

“ opposed the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford*; was  
 “ a friend to Bishops; and now, to prevent any  
 “ possibility of Reformation, which could not be  
 “ effected without the Concurrence of the two  
 “ Houses, had desperately Moved in the House of  
 “ Peers, where he had a great Faction, that it would  
 “ Adjourn for six Months; in which time the Ma-  
 “ lignant Party, of which he might well be thought  
 “ the Head, and had the greatest influence upon the  
 “ King’s affections, would prevail so far, that all  
 “ future hopes would be rendered desperate, and  
 “ the Kingdom of *Ireland* be utterly lost, and pos-  
 “ sessed by the Papists: that they were therefore to  
 “ to take this opportunity, which God had given  
 “ them, to remove so Malignant and dangerous a  
 “ Person from the King, and one so suspected, from  
 “ so important a Charge as the Cinque Ports, of  
 “ which the Duke was Lord Warden, and to send  
 “ to the Lords to join with them in a desire to the  
 “ King to that purpose.”

On the other side, it was objected, that “ whilst  
 “ they were so Solicitous for their own Privileges,  
 “ and sensible of the breach and violation of them,  
 “ they could not more Justify those, who had been  
 “ the Advisers of such breaches, than by offering  
 “ the like trespass to the Privileges of the Peers: that  
 “ the life of that Council depended on the liberty of  
 “ Speech, and where there were so different minds,  
 “ there must be different Expressions, and if one  
 “ House might take notice what the other House  
 “ said, or did, within Those walls, the Lords would  
 “ as well question Their Members, as they did now

B O O K “ one of the Lords; which would take away all  
 IV. “ freedom of Debate: that they could not Examine  
 “ the Circumstances, which attended that Motion,  
 “ if any such was made; and therefore could not so  
 “ much as, in their private understandings, make  
 “ a reasonable judgment of it, but that they were  
 “ naturally to presume the Circumstances were such,  
 “ as took away the Offence of the Motion; for that  
 “ the Major part of that House, where the words  
 “ were spoken, and at the time when they were  
 “ spoken, had, upon Solemn Debate, concluded,  
 “ that there was no Crime in them; and that they  
 “ were not only the Proper, but the Only Judges  
 “ in that Case: and if the Commons should inter-  
 “ meddle therewith, it was no otherwise, than,  
 “ by the strength of the Major part of the House of  
 “ Commons, to make the Minor part of Lords  
 “ Superior to the Major part of that House; which  
 “ they would not suffer to be offered to Themselves.”

It was alledged, “ That the Duke was a Person  
 “ of great Honor and Integrity, and of so unblemish-  
 “ ed a Fame, that in all the discovery of the Court-  
 “ offences, there was not any reflection upon Him.  
 “ That his Education had been, according to the  
 “ best rules of the Greatest Persons, for some years  
 “ beyond the Seas; and that, having spent more time  
 “ in *France* and *Italy*, he visited *Spain*; where his  
 “ great Quality being known, and no question as  
 “ a Compliment to this Kingdom, with which it was  
 “ then in strait Alliance and Confederacy, that King  
 “ had conferred the honor of Grandee upon him;  
 “ which was of no other advantage or signification

“ to him , than to be Covered in the presence of that  
 “ King , as the principal Subjects there are. That  
 “ his affection to the Protestant Religion was unques-  
 “ tionable and very Eminent; and though his Sisters,  
 “ who had been bred under their Mother , were  
 “ Roman Catholics , yet his Brothers , of whose  
 “ Education He had taken the sole Care , were very  
 “ good Protestants.

“ That his opinions in Parliament had been very  
 “ Avowed, and were to be presumed to be according  
 “ to his Conscience , in the profession of which he  
 “ was so public , that there was reason to believe he  
 “ used no ill arts in private ; since he had the Courage  
 “ to do that Aloud , which he had reason to believe  
 “ would displease many. That it would be a great  
 “ prejudice, and blemish to their Councils and Dis-  
 “ coveries, if after so long discourse of a Malignant  
 “ Party , and evil Counsellors, of which they had  
 “ never yet named any , they should first brand This  
 “ Lord with that imputation upon such a ground and  
 “ occasion, as must include all those Lords who had  
 “ absolved him, which was the Major part of the  
 “ Lords. In a word, that it would look as if they  
 “ had devised those New words to make men afraid,  
 “ and keep them in reserve to apply to all those with  
 “ whom they were Angry.”

But notwithstanding all this, and all the reason  
 that could be spoken on that part, and that there  
 could be none on the other, after a debate of very  
 many hours, till after nine of the Clock at Night  
 (the latest that ever was in the Parliament, but that  
 of the Remonstrance) in which it was evident, that



B O O K they meant, as far as in them lay, to Confound all  
 IV. those, whom they could not Convert; it was Resolved by the Majority of Voices, not Half of the House being present at that unseasonable time of the debate, " that they should accuse the Duke of *Richmond* to the Lords to be one of the Malignant Party, and an evil Counsellor to his Majesty: and " to desire them to join in a request to the King, that " he might be removed from any Office or employment about his Person;" which was solemnly recommended to the Lords accordingly, and by them so far received, that though the desire was rejected, no dislike or disapprobation of the Matter or the Manner was in the least discovered, or insisted on.

All things thus prepared, and so many Lords driven and kept from the House, besides the Bishops, and they that stayed there, by this last instance, instructed how to carry themselves, at least how they provoked the Good Lords to Protest, the Resolved once more to try whether the House of Peers would be induced to join in the business of the Militia, which they had twice refused; and to that purpose, their old Friends of the City in the same numbers flocked to *Westminster*, but under the New, received, and allowed style of Petitioners; but as unlike Petitioners to any of those Lords or Commons, whom they understood to be Malignant, as the other Tumults had been. From these herds there were two notable Petitions delivered to the House of Commons, the one from the Porters, their number, as they said, consisting of fifteen thousand; the other under the title of many thousands of poor People in

and about the City of *London*. The Porters, with great Eloquence confessed “ the unexpressible pains, “ that Honorable House had taken for the Good of “ Church and State ; which deserved to be Record- “ ed to their Eternal Fame , though the Effects of “ those unwearied endeavours were not produced, “ by reason of the prevalence of that adverse, Malig- “ nant, Blood sucking , Rebellious Party , by the “ power of which the Privileges of Parliament, and “ the Liberty of the Subject was trampled upon, “ the Rebellion in *Ireland* increased, and all suc- “ cours and relief for that Kingdom obstructed.”

They said, “ That Trade had been long languishing, “ but was Now dead by the Fears , Jealousies, and “ Distractions they lay under, for want of For- “ tification of the Cinque Ports , which was a great “ encouragement to the Papists to make Insurrections “ and did much animate a Foreign power to Invade “ us: that by the deadness of Trade they did want “ employment in such a measure , as did make their “ lives very uncomfortable ; therefore their Request “ was, that that extreme necessity of theirs might be “ taken into serious Consideration, and that the “ Honorable House of Commons would fall upon “ the speediest course for abating and quelling the “ Pride , Outrage , and Insolency of the adverse “ Party at Home ; that the Land might be secured “ by Fortifying the Cinque Ports , and putting the “ people into a posture of Defence , that all their “ Fears , or as many as could , might be removed, “ and that Trade might be again set up and opened, “ that their wants might be in some measure supplied.

B O O K “ They further desired that Justice might be done  
 IV. “ upon Offenders, according as the Atrocity of their  
 “ Crimes had deserved ; for if those things were any  
 “ longer suspended , they should be forced to extre-  
 “ mities not fit to be named, and to make good that  
 “ saying , that Necessity hath no Law. They said,  
 “ they had nothing to lose but their lives , and those  
 “ they would willingly expose to the utmost peril,  
 “ in defence of the House of Commons, according  
 “ to their Protestation,” &c.

The other was a Petition in the Names of many  
 thousands of poor People, and brought by a multi-  
 tude of such , who seemed prepared for any Exploit.  
 I have thought fit, for the rareness of it, and the rare  
 Effect it produced , to insert that Petition in Terms  
 as it was presented , Thus.

*To the Honorable the House of Commons now  
 assembled in Parliament.*

“ The humble Petition of many thousands of  
 poor People in and about the City of *London*.

“ Humbly sheweth , that your Petitioners have  
 “ lain a long time under great pressures , and grie-  
 “ vances both in Liberties and Consciences , as hath  
 “ been largely , and sundry times , showed and  
 “ declared , by several Petitions exhibited to this  
 “ Honorable Assembly both by the Citizens , and  
 “ Apprentices of the City of *London* , and divers  
 “ Counties and parts of this Kingdom, from which  
 “ we hoped long ere this , by your pious care, to  
 “ have been delivered.

“ But now we , who are of the meanest Rank and

“ Quality, being touched with penury, are very B O O K  
 “ sensible of the approaching storms of Ruin, which IV.  
 “ hang over our Heads, and threaten to overwhelm  
 “ us, by reason of the sad distractions occasioned  
 “ chiefly and originally, as your Petitioners humbly  
 “ conceive, by the prevalency of the Bishops, and  
 “ the Popish Lords, and others of that Malignant  
 “ Faction; who make abortive all good Motions,  
 “ which tend to the Peace, and Tranquillity of this  
 “ Kingdom of *England*, and have hitherto hindered  
 “ the sending relief to our Brethren in *Ireland*,  
 “ although they lie weltering in blood: which hath  
 “ given such head to the Adversaries, that we justly  
 “ fear the like calamities inevitably to befall us Here,  
 “ when they have vented their rage and malice  
 “ There.

“ All which, occasions so great a decay and stop  
 “ of Trade, that your Petitioners are utterly im-  
 “ poverished, and our miseries are grown insupport-  
 “ able, we having already spent all that little means,  
 “ which we had formerly, by God’s blessing, and our  
 “ great labor, obtained; and many of us have not,  
 “ nor cannot tell where to get, bread to sustain our-  
 “ selves and families; and others of us are almost  
 “ arrived at the same Port of calamity; so that  
 “ unless some speedy remedy be taken for the re-  
 “ moval of all such obstructions, which hinder the  
 “ happy progress of your great endeavours, your  
 “ Petitioners shall not rest in quietness, but shall  
 “ be forced to lay hold on the next remedy, which  
 “ is at hand, to remove the disturbers of our Peace;  
 “ Want and necessity breaking the bounds of Mo-



B O O K “ desty: and rather than your Petitioners will suffer  
 IV. “ themselves, and their families, to perish through  
 “ Hunger and necessity, though hitherto patiently  
 “ groaned under, they cannot leave any means  
 “ uneffayed for their relief.

“ The Cry therefore of the Poor, and Needy,  
 “ your Poor Petitioners, is, that such Persons, who  
 “ are the obstacles of our peace, and hinderers of  
 “ the happy proceedings of this Parliament, and  
 “ the enjoyment of the looked for purity of Religion,  
 “ safety of our lives, and return of our welfares,  
 “ may be forthwith publicly declared, to the end  
 “ they may be made manifest; the removal of whom  
 “ we humbly conceive will be a Remedy to cure  
 “ our miseries, and put a period to these distractions:  
 “ and that those Noble worthies of the House of  
 “ Peers, who concur with your happy Votes, may  
 “ be earnestly desired to join with this Honorable  
 “ House, and to Sit and Vote as one entire body;  
 “ which we hope will remove from us our destruc-  
 “ tive Fears, and prevent that, which Apprehension  
 “ will make the Wifest and Peaceablest men to put  
 “ into Execution.

“ For the Lord’s sake hear us, and let our Religion,  
 “ Lives, and Welfares be precious in your sight,  
 “ that the loins of the Poor may blefs you, and  
 “ pray, &c.”

After this scandalous, and extravagant Petition delivered, the House, according to its gracious custom, ordered thanks to be given for their great kindness. To the Which when it was delivered by

the Speaker, who told them that the House was in consideration of those things, whereof they complained, some of that rabble, no doubt as they had been taught; replied, "that they never doubted the House of Commons, but they heard all stuck in the Lords House, and they desired to know the Names of those Peers, who hindered the agreement between the Good Lords and the Commons:" which they pressed with unheard of rudeness and importunity, and with a seeming unwillingness withdrew, whilst the House took the matter into further consideration.

Yet notwithstanding this Provocation, and that it was urged by many Members, some of which had been assaulted and ill treated by that Rabble in their passage to the House, "that the countenancing such Licentious persons and proceedings would be a great blemish to their Counsels," they were again called in; and told, "that the House of Commons had endeavoured, and would continue those endeavours for their relief; and they doubted not, when they had delivered their Petition, and what they had said, to the Lords, which they would presently do, the causes of their evils would be found out, and some speedy course resolved upon for their relief; and therefore desired them with patience to attend a further Answer." And accordingly that Petition was solemnly read, and delivered to the Lords at a Conference; and the Conference no sooner ended, than Mr. *Hollis*, one of those Five whom the King had accused a Month before of High-Treason, was sent

BOOK IV. to the Lords in a Message to desire them, "that  
 IV. " they would join with the House of Commons in  
 " their desire to the King about the Militia;" to  
 which he added, " that if that desire of the House  
 " of Commons was not assented to, he desired those  
 " Lords who were willing to concur, would find  
 " some means to make themselves known, that it  
 " might be known who were against them, and  
 " they might make it known to those that sent them."

After which Motion, and Message, the Lords again resumed the debate; which the Earl of *Northumberland* begun, with a profession, " that who-  
 " soever refused, in that particular, to join with  
 " the House of Commons, were, in His opinion,  
 " Enemies to the Common-wealth;" when the  
 Major part of that House had twice before refused  
 to concur with them in it. Yet when his Lordship  
 was questioned for that Unparliamentary language,  
 all the other Lords of that Faction joined with  
 him; and declared, " that it was Their opinion  
 " likewise:" the Rabble being at the door to execute  
 whatever they were directed: so that many Lords,  
 out of a just indignation to see their Honors, and  
 their Liberties Sacrificed to the People by Them-  
 selves; others, out of real fear of being murdered,  
 if they should, in that conjuncture of time, insist  
 on their former resolutions, withdrawing themselves;  
 the Major part of those, who stayed, concluded to  
 join with the House of Commons in their desire  
 concerning the Militia.

The Lords  
 pass the Bill  
 touching the  
 Militia;

Within two days after this agreement, and sub-  
 mission of the Lords, another Petition was presented

to the Commons, in the name of the Inhabitants of the County of *Surry*, by a multitude of People, who were, or pretended to be, of that County, and Subscribed by above two thousand hands. Their Petition was of the ordinary strain, full of devotion to the House of Commons, and offering to execute all their commands; but with it they presented likewise a Petition, which they intended to present to the Lords, if They approved it, and was Subscribed by above two thousand hands; by which it may appear Where that Petition was drawn, and When, however the hands were procured. The Petition to the Lords took notice “of their  
“ happy concurrence with the House of Commons in  
“ settling the Militia, and Forts, in such hands as  
“ the Common-wealth might Confide in, and the  
“ Kingdom in such a posture as might be for its  
“ defence, and safeguard: yet they complained of  
“ the miserable condition of *Ireland*, which, they  
“ said, by the delay it had found amongst their  
“ Lordships, notwithstanding the pressing endeavours of the House of Commons, together with  
“ many of their Lordships, had been exposed to  
“ the inhuman cruelties of their merciless Enemies.  
“ With like grief they apprehended the Distractions  
“ of this Nation, the composition of which was  
“ altogether hopeless, so long as the King’s Throne  
“ was surrounded with evil Counsellors, and so  
“ long as the Votes of Popish Lords, and Bishops,  
“ were continued in their House.

“ Wherefore they did humbly pray, and beseech  
“ their Lordships, that they would go on in a constant



B O O K “ Union with the House of Commons, in providing  
 IV. “ for the Kingdom’s safety ; that all evil Counsellors  
 “ might be found out; *Ireland* relieved; that the  
 “ Votes of the Popish Lords, and Bishops, might  
 “ be speedily removed; that so the Peace of the  
 “ Kingdom might be established, the Privileges of  
 “ Parliament vindicated, and the purity of Religion  
 “ settled, and preserved. And, they said, they should  
 “ be in duty obliged to defend, and maintain with  
 “ their lives and Estates, their Lordships, as far as  
 “ they should be united with the Honorable House  
 “ of Commons, in all their just and pious pro-  
 “ ceedings.”

and the Bills  
 touching the  
 Bishops Votes,  
 and Pressing.

Which Petition was read in the House of Commons, and approved, and the Petitioners thanked for their kind expressions therein; and then it was delivered by them at the Bar of the House of Peers; who, within a day or two, passed both the Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes, and that concerning Pressing, which had lain so long desperate, whilst the Lords came, and sat with freedom in the House. And these marvellous things done, they again Adjourn both Houses into *London*, to lay the Scene for future Action.

Both Houses  
 adjourn a-  
 gain into  
 London.

Both Houses  
 Petition the  
 King touch-  
 ing the Tow-  
 er, Forts, and  
 Militia,  
 etc. Feb. 2.

Upon the second day of *February*, some Members, appointed by both Houses, attended his Majesty at *Windfor* with their Petition, “ that he would forth-  
 “ with put the Tower of *London*, and all other  
 “ Forts, and the whole Militia of the Kingdom  
 “ into the hands of such persons, as should be re-  
 “ commended unto his Majesty by both Houses of  
 “ Parliament; which, they assured themselves,

“ would be a hopeful entrance into those courses, B O O K  
 “ which, through God’s blessing, should be effectual IV.  
 “ for the removing all diffidence, and mis-appre-  
 “ hension between his Majesty and his People; and  
 “ for establishing and enlarging the honor, greatness,  
 “ and Power of his Majesty, and Royal posterity;  
 “ and for the restoring and confirming the Peace,  
 “ and happiness, of his loyal Subjects in all his  
 “ Dominions. And to that their most necessary  
 “ Petition, they said, they did, in all humility,  
 “ expect his speedy and gracious Answer, the great  
 “ Distractions, and Distempers of the Kingdom,  
 “ not admitting any delay.”

At the same time they likewise presented another  
 Petition to him, concerning the accused Members;  
 in which they besought him “ to give directions,  
 “ that the Parliament might be informed before  
 “ *Friday* next (which was within two days) what  
 “ proof there was against them, that accordingly  
 “ they might be called to a legal Trial; it being the  
 “ undoubted right, and Privilege of Parliament,  
 “ that no Member of Parliament could be proceeded  
 “ against, without the consent of Parliament.”

His Majesty now found that these persons could  
 not be compounded with, and that their purpose  
 was, by degrees, to get so much Power into Their  
 hands, that they need not care for what was left in  
 His; and that the Lords were in no degree to be  
 relied upon to maintain their Own Privileges, much  
 less to defend His Rights; and that they had the  
 power generally to impose upon the People’s Under-  
 standing contrary to their own Senses, and to per-

- B O O K suade them, "that they were in danger to be invaded  
 1V. " by foreign Enemies," when the King was not only in peace with all Christian Princes, but almost all other Nations so imbroiled in War, that they all desired the Friendship and Assistance of *England*; none was in case or condition to disturb it: "and  
 " that there was a decay and deadness of Trade, and  
 " Want and Poverty growing upon the whole Kingdom," when no man living had ever remembered the like Plenty over the whole Land, and Trade was at that height, that the like had never been known.

The King  
 resolves to  
 remove further from  
 London.

He resolved therefore to remove himself to a greater distance from *London*, where the Fears and Jealousies grew; and constantly to deny to pass any Act, that should be recommended to him from the two Houses, except what might concern *Ireland*, till he might have a full prospect of all they intended to demand, and an equal assurance how far they intended to gratify him for all his condescensions; which resolution was very Parliamentary, it having been rarely known, till this present Parliament, that the King consented to any Acts, till the determination of the Session.

The truth is, when his Majesty found the extreme ill success of the accusation against the Members, and that the Tumults, and the Petitioners, were no other than an Army at the disposal of those, in whom he had no reason to put his confidence, and that all such who expressed any eminent zeal to his Service, would be taken from him under the style of Delinquents and Malignants, he resolved that  
 the

the Queen, who was very full of fears, should go to *Portsmouth*, Colonel *Goring*, who was Governor thereof, having found means to make good impressions again in their Majesties of his Fidelity; and that Himself would go to *Hull*, where his Magazine of Canon, Arms, and Ammunition was; and that being secured in those strong places, whither they who wished him well, might resort, and be protected, he would sit still, till they who were over-active, would come to reason.

But this, though resolved with so much secrecy, that it was not communicated to three persons (as I have been since assured by those who knew) whether by the Treachery of one of those few, or by the Curiosity of others (which I rather believe) who found means to over-hear all private discourses (as both Bed-Chambers were inhabited, and every corner possessed, by diligent Spies upon their Master, and Mistress) was imparted to those who procured those Orders before mentioned for *Hull* and *Portsmouth*; by reason whereof, and the advice, and promise of many Lords, “that they would firmly unite themselves for the just support of the Regal power,” with the extreme apprehension the Queen had of danger, that Counsel was laid aside. That, which wrought so much upon the Queen’s fears, besides the general observation how the King was betrayed, and how his Rights, and Power, were every day wrested from him, was an advertisement, that she had received, of a design in the prevalent Party to have accused her Majesty of High-Treason; of which, without doubt, there had been some



B O O K  
 IV. discourse in their most private Cabals, and, I am persuaded, was imparted to her upon design, and by connivance (for there were some incorporated into that Faction, who exactly knew her nature, passions, and infirmities) that the disdain of it might transport her to somewhat which might give Them advantage. And shortly after that discovery to her Majesty, those persons before mentioned were accused of High-Treason; yet afterwards, when they had received the full fruits, they found means to complain, "as a great argument of the malignity of those persons of nearness to both their Majesties, that an infusion had been made to the Queen, that there was a purpose of accusing her of High-Treason," and solemnly by Message "besought her to discover, Who had done that malicious Office;" when they very well knew Who it was, and for Whose sake the Queen was brought to return Answer, "that she had heard such a discourse; but took no notice of it, as never believing it;" whereas if she could have been compelled to have discovered, how they knew that the Queen had been informed, all the secret would have appeared; the same person first telling her what was in projection against her, and then returning Intelligence of any expressions, and distemper, he might easily observe upon the apprehension which the other begot.

But both King and Queen were then upon that disadvantage, that all their words, and actions, which were the pure results of their own reasons, and judgments upon what they saw every day oc-

gured, were called the effects of evil Counsels, that so they might take the liberty to reproach them with the more licence; whilst what they received by the most secret perjury of Bed-Chamber-Spies, or what they forged themselves, was urged as the result of common Fame, or the effects of their Fears and Jealousies; to the rancor of which the most precious balm of the Crown must be applied. And therefore it was concluded, "that the Queen should take the opportunity of her Daughter the Princess *Mary's* Journey into *Holland*" (who had been before married to the young Prince of *Orange*, and was now solemnly desired by the States Ambassadors to come into that Country) "to transport herself into *Holland*, patiently to expect an amendment of the affairs of *England*; and that the King should retire into the North, and reside at *York*, and deny all Particulars, till the Whole alteration should be framed." But the first resolution concerning the Queen was only published, the other, concerning the King, communicated to very few; both their Majesties being reduced to so great wants, that the Queen was compelled to coin, or sell her Chamber-Plate for the supply of her most necessary occasions, there being no money in the Exchequer, or in the power of the Ministers of the Revenue; the Officers of the Customs, out of which the allowance for the weekly support of their Majesties Household had been made, being enjoined by the House of Commons, not to issue out any money, without their particular consent, and approbation.

It was evident now that the accused Members

B O O K

IV.

were too mighty for the King or the Law, and that they would admit no other Judges of their guilt, than Themselves, nor rules of proceeding than the Plurality of their own voices: and therefore the King resolved to give over any more thought of that business. And so to that Petition he Answered, "that  
 " as he once conceived that he had ground enough  
 " to accuse them, so Now he found as good cause  
 " wholly to wave any prosecution of them." The  
 othe Petition concerning the Militia gave him more trouble; for though he was resolved in no degree to consent to it, yet he was willing, till all things could be ready for the Queen's Journey, and so for his own remove, rather to Delay it, than Deny it; lest the same Army of Petitioners might come to *Windfor* to persuade him, which had Converted, and prevailed over the House of Peers. And he was persuaded by some, who thought they knew the temper of both Houses, that though they were now united in the Matter, they might easily be divided upon the Circumstances; and that they would not be of one mind in the election of the Persons to be Confided in. So that to that Petition his Majesty returned this Answer:

The King's  
 Answer to  
 the Petition  
 concerning  
 the Militia.

" That he was willing to apply a remedy not only  
 " to their Dangers, but to their Doubts and Fears;  
 " and therefore that when he should know the extent  
 " of power, which was intended to be established  
 " in those persons, whom they desired to be Com-  
 " manders of the Militia in the several Counties,  
 " and likewise to what time it should be limited,  
 " that no power should be executed by his Majesty

“ alone without the advice of Parliament, Then he  
 “ would declare that he would be content to put  
 “ in all the Forts, and over the Militia, such per-  
 “ sons as both Houses of Parliament should either  
 “ approve, or recommend to him; so that they be-  
 “ fore declared the names of the persons, whom  
 “ they should approve or recommend; and so that  
 “ no Persons should be named by them, against  
 “ whom his Majesty should have just, and Unques-  
 “ tionable exception.”

B O O K  
 IV.

Which Answer, though it was not a Consent, gave them notable encouragement, and exceedingly united the vulgar minds to them; who concurred only with them, as they saw them like to Prevail in what they went about. And there was no danger of any disunion in the Nomination of Persons; because, though they should at first admit such into the Number, whom they could not sufficiently trust, nor plausibly except against, yet when they were once possessed of the power of Nomination, they might easily Weed out those which were not agreeable to the Soil they were planted in. However this would take up some time; and therefore to keep the King's inclination to gratify them (for so they would understand it) warm, the same day they received this Answer, they returned a Message of thanks; and desired his Majesty, “ whilst they were  
 “ preparing all other particulars according to his  
 “ command, that he would confer the custody of  
 “ the Tower upon Sir *John Coniers*,” whom they  
 had lately recommended to his Majesty as a person  
 of great merit. With which being surpris'd, and

The House of  
 Commons re-  
 turn the  
 King thanks;



B O O K

IV.

and desire Sir  
John Coniers  
may be made  
Lieutenant of  
the Tower.

The King  
consents to  
it.

desired likewise by Sir *John Byron* to free him from the Agony and vexation of that place, which had exposed his person and reputation to the rage and fury of the People, and compelled him to submit to such reproaches, as a generous Spirit could not brook without much regret; for he had upon frivolous surmises been sent for as a Delinquent, and been brought upon his knees at the Bar of both Houses; his Majesty consented to that alteration, and made Sir *John Coniers* Lieutenant of the Tower. Which was such an instance of his yielding upon Importunity, that from That time they thought themselves even possessed of the whole Militia of the Kingdom.

Whilst all diligence was used in making preparation for the Queen's Journey; to divert their Councils from other inquisition, the King (who had received so many sharp expostulations for breach of Privileges, and other attempts upon their reputations) resolved upon their publication of a bold scandal upon himself by one of their principal Members, to expostulate with them, and try what satisfaction and reparation they were prepared to Give him, who exacted so much From him. All opportunities had been taken in Public, and all licence given to Private and clandestine forgeries to lay odious, or envious imputation on the King and Queen, in the business of *Ireland*; and to impute the progress and success of that Rebellion to a connivance, if not a countenance, from the Court: the not levying men, and sending provisions, imputed to his Majesty; though he had, as is before

observed, offered to levy ten thousand Volunteers for that Service, and had consented cheerfully to every proposition, that had been made with the least reference to the assistance of that Kingdom. Indeed he was so alarmed with those perpetual odious suggestions, which he perceived wrought very pernicious effects in the minds of the People, that he was compelled to consent to many things contrary to his judgment, and Kingly policy, to prevent greater inconveniences by those scandals, which he saw were prepared for him. So when several Propositions were recommended to him by the two Houses concerning those Supplies, which were to be sent out of *Scotland*, amongst the rest, there was one, “ that the Scots should have the  
 “ Command, and keeping of the Town, and Castle  
 “ of *Carrickfergus*; and if any Regiments, or Troops,  
 “ in that Province should join with them, that  
 “ they should receive Orders from the Commander  
 “ of the Scottish Forces.” The King consented to all the rest, though there were matters unreasonable enough in favor of that Nation; but, “ That, he said, “ he could not approve of;” and wished “ the  
 “ Houses to take that Proposition again into consideration, as a business of very great importance,  
 “ which he doubted might prove prejudicial to the  
 “ Crown of *England*, and the Service intended.  
 “ And he said, if the Houses desired it, he would  
 “ be willing to speak with the Scottish Commissioners, to see what satisfaction he could give them  
 “ therein ” This Answer was no sooner read, but both Houses Voted, “ that whosoever gave the

B O O K “ King advice, or counsel, to send that Answer,  
 IV. “ was an Enemy to the King, and Kingdom,” and  
 a Committee appointed to find out who those evil  
 Counsellors were. So that, the Scottish Commission-  
 ers pressing him, “ that being their Native King,  
 “ he should not publish a less Trust and confidence  
 “ in them, than their Neighbour-Nation had done,”  
 his Majesty thought fit to consent to the whole, as  
 the two Houses had advised.

Then, in the carrying on the War, they allowed  
 his Majesty so little power, that when he recom-  
 mended some Officers of prime quality, reputation,  
 and experience in the War, to the Lord Lieutenant  
 to be employed in that Service, the House of Com-  
 mons by express Order, and after they knew that  
 his Majesty had recommended them, rejected them,  
 because they were taken notice of to have attended  
 upon the King at *White-Hall*, as a Guard to his  
 person. And after all this, they took all occasions  
 to asperse him with any omissions that were in that  
 great work; as Mr. *Pym* had more particularly done,  
 in that Speech before taken notice of, at the Con-  
 ference with the Lords, upon the delivery of those  
 Seditious Petitions; of which the King could not  
 take notice, lest he should be again reproached  
 with Breach of Privilege.

But when that Speech was printed by Order of  
 the House, the King thought he had an opportunity  
 to require a vindication; and therefore, in a letter  
 to the Speaker, he sent this Message: “ That he had  
 “ taken notice of a Speech, pretended by the title  
 “ to have been delivered by Mr. *Pym* in a Confe-

the King  
 demands re-  
 paration for

" rence, and printed by Order of the House of Com- B O O K  
 " mons; in which it was affirmed, that Since the IV.  
 " stop upon the Ports against all Irish Papists of an expression  
 " both Houses, many of the chief Commanders, in a printed  
 " now in the head of the Rebels, have been suffered Speech of Mr.  
 " to pass by his Majesty's immediate Warrant: and Pym's.  
 " being certain of having used extreme caution in  
 " the granting of Pass-Ports into *Ireland*, he con-  
 " ceived, either that Paper not to have been so de-  
 " livered, and printed, as is pretended; or that  
 " House to have received some misinformation. And  
 " therefore his Majesty desired to know, whether  
 " that Speech had been so delivered, and printed;  
 " and if it had, that the House would review, upon  
 " what information that particular had been ground-  
 " ed, that either it might be found upon re-exami-  
 " nation false, and so both the House, and his  
 " Majesty to have been injured by it; or that his  
 " Majesty might know, by what means, and by  
 " whose fault, his Authority had been so highly  
 " abused, as to be made to conduce to the assistance  
 " of that Rebellion, which he so much detested  
 " and abhorred; and that he might see himself fully  
 " vindicated from all reflections of the least sus-  
 " picion of that kind."

It was some time before they would vouchsafe The House of  
 any Answer to the King upon this Message; but at Commons  
 last they returned, " that the Speech, mentioned in Answer.  
 " that Message, was printed by their Order, and  
 " what was therein delivered, was agreeable to the  
 " sense of the House: That they had received di-  
 " vers advertisements concerning the several persons,



B O O K “ Irish Papists, and others, who had obtained his  
 IV. “ Majesty’s immediate Warrant for their passing into  
 “ *Ireland*, Since the Order of restraint of both  
 “ Houses; some of which, as they had been informed,  
 “ since their coming into *Ireland*, had joined with  
 “ the Rebels, and been Commanders amongst them;  
 “ and some others had been stayed, and were yet  
 “ in safe Custody.”

Then they named some, to whom Licences had been granted Before the Order of restraint, and were still in *England*; and said, “ there were others, whose Names they had not yet received, but doubted not, upon examination, they would be discovered.

The King’s  
 reply.

To this the King replied, and told them, “ that  
 “ as He had expressed a great desire to give Them  
 “ all possible satisfaction to all their just requests,  
 “ and a readiness to rectify, or retract, any thing  
 “ done by himself, which might seem to intrench  
 “ upon their Privileges by any mistake of his; so,  
 “ he hoped, They would be ready, upon all occasions,  
 “ to manifest an equal tenderness and regard  
 “ of His Honor, and reputation with his Subjects:  
 “ and therefore, he expected they should review  
 “ his Message concerning Mr. *Pym*’s Speech, and  
 “ their Answer, with which he could not rest satisfied.  
 “ He said, he was most assured that No person,  
 “ who had Command in the head of the Rebels,  
 “ had passed by his Warrant, or Privity. And then,  
 “ he desired them to consider, whether such a  
 “ General information, and advertisement, as they  
 “ implied in their Answer, without the Name of

B O O K

IV.

“ any Particular person, was a ground enough for  
 “ such a direct and positive Affirmation, as was  
 “ made in that Speech; which, in respect of the  
 “ place and person, and being now acknowledged  
 “ to be according to the sense of the House, was of  
 “ that Authority, that his Majesty might suffer in  
 “ the Affections of many of his good Subjects, and  
 “ fall under a possible construction, considering  
 “ many scandalous Pamphlets to such a purpose,  
 “ of not being sensible enough of that Rebellion,  
 “ so horrid, and odious to all Christians; by which,  
 “ in that distraction, such a danger might possibly  
 “ ensue to his Majesty’s person, and Estate, as he  
 “ was well assured they would endeavour to pre-  
 “ vent. And therefore, he thought it very necessary,  
 “ and expected that they should Name those persons  
 “ who had passed by his Licence, and were then  
 “ in the head of the Rebels: or if, upon their re-  
 “ examination, they did not find Particular evi-  
 “ dence to prove that assertion (as he was most con-  
 “ fident they never could) as that Affirmation,  
 “ which reflected upon his Majesty, was very Pub-  
 “ lic, so they would publish such a Declaration,  
 “ whereby that mistake might be discovered; he  
 “ being the more tender in that particular which had  
 “ reference to *Ireland*, and being most assured, that  
 “ he had been, and was, from his Soul, resolved  
 “ to discharge his duty, for the relief of his poor  
 “ Protestant Subjects, and the utter rooting out that  
 “ Rebellion; so that Service had not suffered for  
 “ the want of any thing proposed to him, and within  
 “ His power to grant.”

B O O K

IV.

He said, " in this matter he had diligently examined his own memory, and the notes of his Secretaries;" and then named all the Irish persons to whom he had given any Licences to go into that Kingdom, since the beginning of that Rebellion; and said, " he was well assured, none of them were with the Rebels; and though some of them might be Papists, yet he had no reason to have any suspicion of them, in respect of their alliance with persons of great Honor and Power in that Kingdom, of whose fidelity to him he had good assurance; and the Lords Justices Themselves having declared, that they were so far from owning a jealousy of All Papists there, that they had put Arms into the Hands of divers Noblemen of that Religion, within the Pale, which the Parliament had well approved of. And therefore, unless the first Affirmation of the House of Commons could be made good by some Particulars, he expected a vindication by such a Declaration as he had proposed; which, he said, was, in duty and Justice, due to him."

But this, and any thing else could be said, was so far from procuring any Reparation, that when they perceived the King still pressed for that Justice, and apprehended that many would believe it due to him, and that the prejudice they had raised to him for *Ireland* would be removed thereby, they confidently published another Declaration of several persons Names, to whom they said the King had granted Passes, and were then Commanders in the Rebels Army, of whose Names his Majesty had

never before heard, to whom no Passes had been granted, neither did he believe that there were such men in Nature: and so left the People to believe as they found themselves inclined upon the King's denial, or Their so Particular, and positive affirmation.

These proceedings of the Parliament made a deep impression upon all Noble and generous persons, who found that their Pride, and Ambition was so great, that they resolved to remove all persons, who were like to stand in their way by opposing any thing they desired, or by filling any place, or office, which they designed should be executed by some other person. in whom they could Confide. The Earl of *New-Castle*, who was Governor to the Prince, knew very well in what prejudice he stood with the Earls of *Essex*, and *Holland* (two very powerful persons) upon the Account of the Challenge formerly mentioned to be sent by him to the latter of the two, who would be glad of any opportunity to expose him to an affront; and that they would find occasions enough upon the account of his known affections to the King's Service, from which it was not possible to remove or startle him. He knew they liked not that he should have the Government of the Prince, as one, who would infuse such principles into him, as would not be agreeable to their Designs, and would dispose him to no kindness to their Persons, and that they would not rest, till they saw another man in that province; in order to which, they would pick all quarrels they could, and load him with all reproaches.



B O O K

I V

The Earl of  
New-Cas-  
tle resigns  
his place of  
Governor to  
the Prince.

which might blast him with the People, with whom he had a very good reputation. Upon those considerations, and some other imaginations upon the prospect of affairs, he very Wisely resolved to retire from the Court, where he had expended much of his own Fortune, and only made himself obnoxious to the malice, and envy of other pretenders; and desired the King to approve of this his reasonable inclination, and to put the Prince under the Tuition of some person of Honor of unquestionable fidelity to him, and above the reach of Popular disapprobation; and, at the same time mentioned the Marquis of *Hertford*, who was indeed Superior to any Temptations. The King could not dislike the Earl's Judgment upon his own interest, and concernment; and did foresee likewise that he might probably have occasion to use his Service under another qualification; and therefore was well contented to dismiss him from the Prince.

The Marquis  
of Hertford  
succeeds him.

The Marquis of *Hertford* was a Man of great Honor, Interest, and Estate, and an universal esteem over the whole Kingdom; and though he had received many, and continued disobligations from the Court, from the time of this King's coming to the Crown, as well as during the Reign of King *James*, in both which seasons, more than ordinary care had been taken to discountenance and lessen his Interest; yet he had carried himself with notable steadiness, from the beginning of the Parliament, in the support and defence of the King's Power and Dignity, notwithstanding all his Allies, and those with whom he had the greatest Familiarity and

Friendship, were of the opposite Party; and never concurred with them against the Earl of *Strafford*, whom he was known not to love, nor in any other extravagancy. B O O K  
IV.

And then, he was not to be shaken in his affection to the Government of the Church; though it was enough known that he was in no degree biassed to any great inclination to the Person of any Church-man. And with all this, that Party carried themselves towards him with profound respect not presuming to venture their own credit in endeavouring to lessen His.

It is very true, he wanted some of those qualities, which might have been wished to be in a Person to be trusted in the Education of a great, and hopeful Prince, and in forming of his Mind and Manners in so tender an Age. He was of an Age not fit for much Activity and Fatigue, and loved, and was even wedded so much to his Ease, that he loved his Book above all Exercises; and had even contracted such a Laziness of Mind, that he had no delight in an open and liberal Conversation; and cared not to discourse, and argue on those points, which he understood very well, only for the trouble of contending; and could never impose upon himself the pain that was necessary to be undergone in such a perpetual attendance: but then those lesser duties might be otherwise provided for, and he could well Support the dignity of a Governor, and exact that diligence from others, which he could not exercise Himself; and his Honor was so unblemished, that none durst murmur against the

**B O O K** designation; and therefore his Majesty thought him  
 IV. very worthy of the high Trust, against which there was no other exception, but that He was not Ambitious of it, nor in truth willing to receive and undergo the Charge, so contrary to his natural Constitution. But in his pure Zeal and Affection for the Crown, and the Conscience, that in this conjuncture his submission might Advance the King's Service, and that the refusing it might prove disadvantageous to his Majesty, He very cheerfully undertook the Province, to the general Satisfaction and Public Joy of the whole Kingdom; and to the no little Honor and Credit of the Court, that so important and beloved a Person would Attach himself to it under such a relation, when so many, who had scarce ever eaten any Bread but the King's, Detached themselves from their dependance, that they might without him, and against him, preserve and improve those Fortunes, which they had procured and gotten under him, and by his Bounty.

The King  
 pressed to  
 pass the Bill  
 against the  
 Bishops Votes.

Now the Bill for the taking away the Votes of Bishops out of the House of Peers, which was called a Bill for taking away all Temporal Jurisdiction from those in holy Orders, was no sooner passed the House of Peers, than the King was earnestly desired to give "his Royal Assent to it. The King returned, that it "was a matter of great Concernment; and therefore "He would take time to advise, and would return "an Answer in convenient time." But this delay pleased not their appetite; they could not attempt their perfect Reformation in Church and State, till those Votes were utterly abolished; therefore they  
 sent

sent the same day again to the King, who was yet at *Windfor*, and gave him reasons to persuade him immediately to consent to it; One of which was the Grievances the Subjects suffered by the Bishops exercising of Temporal Jurisdiction, and their making a Party in the Lords House; a Second, the great content of all sorts by the happy conjunction of both Houses in Their absence: and a Third, that the passing of that Bill would be a comfortable pledge of his Majesty's gracious Assent to the future Remedies of those evils, which were to be presented to him, this once being passed."

Reasons sufficient to have Converted Him, if he had the least inclination or propensity to have Concurred with them. For it was, upon the matter, to persuade him to join with them in This, because, That being done, he should be able to deny them Nothing.

However those of greatest Trust about the King, and who were very faithful to his Service, though in this particular exceedingly deceived in their judgements, and not sufficiently acquainted with the Constitution of the Kingdom, persuaded him "that the passing this Bill was the only way to preserve the Church, there being so united a Combination in this particular, that he would not be able to withstand it. Whereas, by the passing this Bill, so many persons in both Houses would be fully satisfied, that they would join in no further alteration: but, on the other hand, if they were crossed in This, they would violently endeavour



BOOK “ an Extirpation of Bishops, and a demolishing of  
IV. “ the whole Fabric of the Church.

“ They alledged that he was, upon the matter,  
“ deprived of their Votes already, they being not  
“ suffered to come to the House, and the Major part  
“ in Prison under a accusation of High-Treason, of  
“ which there was not like to be any Reformation,  
“ till these present Distempers were composed; and  
“ then that by his Power, and the memory of the  
“ Indirect means that had been used against them,  
“ it would be easier to bring them in Again, than to  
“ keep them in Now. They told him, there were  
“ two matters of great Importance pressed upon him  
“ for his Royal Assent, but they were not of equal  
“ consequence, and concernment to his Sovereign  
“ Power; the first, that Bill touching the Bishops  
“ Votes; the other, the Whole Militia of the  
“ Kingdom, the granting of which would absolutely  
“ divest him of all Regal Power; that he would not  
“ be able to deny Both; but by granting the former,  
“ in which he parted with no matter of Moment, he  
“ would, it may be, not be pressed in the second; or  
“ if he were, that as he could not have a more Popular  
“ quarrel to take up Arms, than to defend himself,  
“ and to preserve that Power in his hands, which  
“ the Law had vested in him, and without which he  
“ could not be a King; so he could not have a more  
“ Unpopular argument for that contention, than  
“ the preservation of the Bishops in the House of  
“ Peers, which few Men thought essential, and most  
“ Men believed Prejudicial, to the Peace and Hap-  
“ piness of the Kingdom.”

These arguments, though used by Men whom he most trusted, and whom he knew to have opposed that Bill in its passage, and to be cordially friends to the Church of *England* in Discipline and Doctrine, prevailed not so much with his Majesty, as the Persuasions of the Queen; who was not only persuaded to think those reasons valid (and there are that believe that Infusion to have been made in Her by her own Priests, by Instructions from *France*, and for reasons of State of that Kingdom) but that her own Safety very much depended upon the King's consent to that Bill; and that, if he should refuse it, Her Journey into *Holland* would be crossed by the Parliament, and possibly her Person in danger either by the Tumults, which might easily be brought to *Windfor* from *Westminster*, or by the Jurisdiction of the Counties in Her passage from thence to *Dover*, where she intended to take Shipping. Whereas by Her intercession with the King to do it, she would lay a most seasonable and Popular Obligation upon the whole Nation, and leave a pleasant odor of Her Grace and Favor to the People behind her, which would prove much to her advantage in her absence; and she should have the thanks for that Act, as acquired by Her goodness, which otherwise would be extorted from the King, when she was gone.

These Insinuations and Discourses so far satisfied the Queen, and She the King, that, contrary to his most positive Resolution, the King consented, and sent a Commission for the enacting both that Bill, and the other about Pressing; which was done accordingly, to the great Triumph of the Bouteuseus, the

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The King  
passes that  
Bill, and the  
other of Press-  
ing, Feb. 14.

BOOK IV. King sending the same day that he passed those Bills, which was the fourteenth of *February*, a Message to both Houses; "that He was assured his having passed those two Bills, being of so great importance, so suddenly, would serve to assure his Parliament, that he desired nothing more than the Satisfaction of his Kingdom. For *Ireland*, he said, as he had Concurred in all Propositions made for that Service by his Parliament, so he was Resolved to leave nothing undone for their Relief, which should possibly fall within his Power, nor would refuse to venture his own Person in that War, if the Parliament should think it convenient, for the reduction of that miserable Kingdom."

The passing that Bill for taking away the Bishops Votes, exceedingly weakened the King's Party; not only as it swept away so considerable a number out of the House of Peers, which were constantly devoted to him; but as it made impression on others, whose minds were in suspense, as when Foundations are shaken. Besides, they that were best acquainted with the King's Nature, Opinions, and Resolutions, had reason to believe, that no exigence could have wrought upon him to have consented to so Anti-Monarchical an Act; and therefore, never after retained any confidence, that he would deny what was Importunately asked; and so, either absolutely withdrew themselves from those consultations, thereby avoiding the envy, and the danger of opposing them, or quietly suffered themselves to be carried by the Stream, and to consent to any thing that was Boldly and Lustily attempted.

And then it was so far from dividing the other Party, that I do not remember One man, who vehemently insisted on, or indeed heartily wished, the passing of that Bill, that ever deserted them, till the Kingdom was in a Flame: but on the contrary, very many, who cordially and constantly opposed that Act, as friends rather to Monarchy than Religion, after that Bill, never considered or resisted any attempt, or further alteration, in the Church, looking on the Bishops as useless to Sovereignty, and so not of Importance enough to be defended by the Sword. And I have heard the same Men, who urged Before, “ that their places in that House  
 “ had no relation to the Discipline of the Church,  
 “ and their Spiritual Jurisdiction, and therefore  
 “ ought to be Sacrificed to the Preservation of the  
 “ other, upon which the Peace, and Unity of Religion so much depended,” Since argue, “ that  
 “ Since their power in that House, which was a  
 “ good Outwork to defend the King’s from Invasion,  
 “ was taken away, any other form of Government  
 “ would be equally advantageous to his Majesty;  
 “ and therefore, that he ought not to insist on it,  
 “ with the least inconvenience to his condition.”

But that which was above, or equal to all this, was that by his Majesty’s enacting those two Bills, he had, upon the matter, approved the Circumstances of their passage, which had been by direct violence, and almost force of Arms; in which case, he ought not to have confirmed the most Politic, or the most Pious Constitutions: *Male posita est Lex, que tumultuarie posita est*, was one of those positions



B O O K of *Aristotle*, which hath Never been since contradicted; and was an advantage, that, being well managed, and stoutly insisted upon, would, in spite of all their Machinations, which were not Yet firmly and solidly formed, have brought them to a temper of being Treated with. But I have some cause to believe, that even this Argument, which was Unanswerable for the Rejecting that Bill, was applied for the Confirming it; and an opinion that the violence, and force, used in procuring it, rendered it absolutely Invalid and Void, made the Confirmation of it less considered, as not being of strength to make that Act good, which was in it-Self Null. And I doubt this Logic had an influence upon other Acts of no less Moment than these: but it was an Erroneous and Unskilful suggestion; for an Act of Parliament, what Circumstances soever concurred in the contriving and framing it, will be always of too great reputation to be avoided, or to be declared Void, by the sole Authority of any Private persons, or the Single power of the King Himself. And though the Wisdom, Sobriety, and Power, of a future Parliament, if God shall ever bless the Kingdom with another Regularly Constituted, may find cause to declare This, or that Act of Parliament, Void; yet there will be the same temper requisite to such a Declaration, as would serve to Repeal it. And it may be Then, many men, who abhorred the thing when it was done, for the Manner of doing it, will be of the Civilians opinion, *fieri non debuit, factum valet*; and never consent to the Altering of that, which they would never have consented to

the Establishing of; neither will that Single Precedent of the Judges in the case of King *Henry* the Seventh, when they declared the Act of Attainder to be Void by the Accession to the Crown (though if he had in truth been the person, upon whom the Crown had Lineally and Rightfully descended; it was good Law) find, or make, the Judges of another Age parallel to Them, till the King hath as strong a Sword in his hand, and the People as much at his devotion and disposal; and then the Making, and Declaring Law, will be of equal Facility, though, it may be, not of equal Justice. How much soever the King's Friends were, for the reasons aforesaid, dejected upon the passing those two Acts, it is certain, They who thought they got whatsoever He lost, were mightily Exalted, and thought Themselves now Superior to any Opposition: And what returns of duty and acknowledgment they made to the King for that Grace and Favor, is to be remembered in the next place.

The same day those two Acts were by his Majesty's Commission passed, and as soon as a very short Message of thanks for that favor, as much importing the Safety of both Kingdoms, of *England* and *Ireland*, was consented to, an Ordinance for the settling the Militia was agreed on by both Houses, and, together with a list of the Names of such persons, as for the present they meant to Confide in, was immediately sent to the King for his Approbation; the which, being the most Avowed foundation of all the Miseries that have followed, will be here necessary to be inserted in the very terms

**B O O K** and form it was agreed upon, and presented; and  
**IV.** was as followeth.

**An Ordinance agreed on by both Houses for settling the Militia.**

*An Ordinance of Both Houses of Parliament for the ordering of the Militia of the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.*

“Whereas there hath been of late a most dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, which we have just cause to believe to be the effect of the bloody Counsels of the Papists, and other ill affected persons, who have already raised a Rebellion in the Kingdom of Ireland, and, by reason of many discourses, we cannot but fear they will proceed, not only to stir up the like Rebellion, and Insurrection in this Kingdom of England, but also to back them with Forces from abroad; for the safety therefore of his Majesty's Person, the Parliament, and Kingdom, in this time of imminent danger, it is ordained by the King, the Lords, and Commons, now in Parliament assembled, That                      shall have power to assemble, and call together all and singular his Majesty's Subjects within the County of                      as well within Liberties, as without, that are meet and fit for the Wars, and them to Train, Exercise, and put in readiness, and them, after their Abilities, and Faculties, well and sufficiently, from time to time, to cause to be arrayed, and weaponed, and to take the Muster of them in places most fit for that purpose. And                      shall have power within the said County to nominate, and appoint such persons of Quality, as to him shall seem meet, to be his Deputy Lieutenants to be

“ approved of by both Houses of Parliament: and  
 “ that any one, or more of the said Deputies, so  
 “ assigned and approved of, shall in the absence,  
 “ or by the Command of the said                      have  
 “ Power and Authority to do and execute within  
 “ the County of                      all such Powers and Au-  
 “ thorities before in this present Ordinance contain-  
 “ ed; and shall have power to make Colonels, and  
 “ Captains, and other Officers, and to remove out  
 “ of their places, and to make others from time to  
 “ time, as he shall think fit for that purpose. And  
 “                      his Deputies, Colonels, and Captains,  
 “ and other Officers, shall have further Power and  
 “ Authority to Lead, Conduct, and Employ, the  
 “ persons aforesaid arrayed, and weaponed, as well  
 “ within the County of                      as within any other  
 “ part of this Realm of *England*, or Dominion of  
 “ *Wales*, for the suppressing of all Rebellions, In-  
 “ surrections, and Invasions, that may happen, ac-  
 “ cording as they, from time to time, shall receive  
 “ directions by his Majesty’s Authority, signified  
 “ unto them by the Lords and Commons, assembled  
 “ in Parliament. And it is further Ordained, that  
 “ such, as shall not obey in any of the Premises, shall  
 “ answer their neglect and contempt to the Lords  
 “ and Commons, in a Parliamentary way, and not  
 “ otherwise, nor elsewhere: and that every the  
 “ Powers, granted as aforesaid, shall continue,  
 “ until it shall be otherwise ordered, or declared by  
 “ both Houses of Parliament, and no longer.  
 “ This to go also to the Dominion of *Wales*.”

A second Act of the same day, and the only way



they took to return their thanks and acknowledgements to the Queen for her intercession, and mediation in the passing these Bills, was the opening a Letter they intercepted, which was directed to her Majesty. The Lord *Digby*, after their Majesties going to *Windsor*, when he found in what ambage he stood with the powerful and prevailing Party, and that they were able to improve his going through a Town in a Coach and its horses to a Warlike appearance, and so to expose him to the fury of the People, at least to the power of the Counties, to be suppressed, as they had done by their Order, or Proclamation of the twelfth of *January*, before remembered, and appointed to be read in all Market-Towns throughout *England*, concluded for his own security, and to free the King's Councils from the imputation of his evil influence, to remove himself into some parts beyond the seas; and so, by the King's leave, and by his licence, was transported into *Holland*, from whence he won some Letters to his friends at *London*, to give them an account where he was, and for supplying himself with such accommodations as he stood in need of. Amongst these Letters there was one to his Brother-in-Law Sir *Lewis Blore*, which, by the treachery of that person, to whose care it was intrusted for conveyance, was brought to the House of Commons; and it being avowed, "that it came from the Lord *Digby*," whom they looked upon as a Fugitive, they made no scruple of opening it; and finding another in it directed to the Queen, after a very little pause they did the like, for which they made no other excuse

(when upon a Message from the King they sent her the transcript, for the Original they still kept) than,  
 “ that having opened the other Letters, and finding  
 “ in them sundry expressions full of asperity, and  
 “ malignity to the Parliament, they thought it very  
 “ probable, that the like might be contained in that  
 “ to her Majesty; and that it would have been dishonorable to her Majesty, and dangerous to the  
 “ Kingdom, if it should not have been opened:  
 “ And they besought the King to persuade her Majesty, that she would not vouchsafe any countenance to, or correspondence with, the Lord *Digby*,  
 “ or any other of the Fugitives or Traitors, whose  
 “ offences were under the examination and judgment of Parliament.”

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In that Letter to the Queen were these words,  
 “ If the King betake himself to a safe place, where  
 “ he may avow and protect his servants (from rage  
 “ I mean and violence; for from justice I will never  
 “ implore it) I shall then live in impatience, and  
 “ in misery, till I wait upon you. But if, after all  
 “ he hath done of late, he shall betake himself to  
 “ the easiest and compliancest ways of accommodation, I am confident, that then I shall serve  
 “ him more by my absence, than by all my industry.  
 And in that to Sir *Lewis Dives*, were these words:  
 “ God knows, I have not a thought to make me  
 “ blush towards my Country, much less criminal;  
 “ but where Traitors have so great a sway, the  
 “ honestest thoughts may prove most Reasonable.”  
 Which gave those, that thought themselves concerned, so great offence, that within two days after,

B O O K they accused him of High-Treason; and finding no words in the Letter would amount to that offence, they accused him of levying War against the King; which could have relation to no Act of his, but what was before mentioned at *Kingslon* upon *Thames*, when to the terror of the King's Subjects, he was seen there in a Coach with six Horses. Though this extravagancy of theirs seems to be directed against a particular person, I could not omit it in this place, being accompanied with those circumstances. And it may be, posterity may look upon the severe prosecution of a young Noble-man of admirable parts, and eminent hopes, in so implacable a manner, as a most pertinent instance of the Tyranny, and Injustice of that time, not possible to end, but in so much wickedness as hath since been practised.

The Attor-  
ney General  
is impeached  
by the Com-  
mons.

A third Act of that day was the carrying up an Impeachment to the Lords against the King's Attorney General, "for maliciously advising and contriving the Articles upon which the Lord *Kim-bolton*, Mr. *Hollis*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Strode*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, had been accused by his Majesty of High-Treason;" it being not thought security and reputation enough, that the King had waved any further proceeding against them, except they left such a monument of their power, that, upon what occasion or provocation soever, no man should presume to obey the King in the like command: so that the same fourteenth of *February*, that was celebrated for the King's condescension to that Act for putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, is famous likewise for those

three Unparalleled Acts of contempt upon the Sovereign power; the demand of the sole power over all the Militia of the Kingdom; the opening Letters directed to the Sacred person of the Queen; and the impeaching the Attorney General, for performing, what he took to be the duty of his place, by his Master's command. All which were very ill instances of that application and compliance his Majesty had reason to expect, and some men had promised him he should receive.

Though the King was resolved in no degree to consent to the Proposition for the Militia, yet he thought not the time seasonable for his positive Denial, the Queen retaining still her fears of being stopped in her Journey. Therefore, for the present, he returned Answer, "that his dearest Comfort the Queen, and his dear Daughter the Princess *Mary*, being then upon their departure for *Holland*, he could not have so good time to consider of a particular answer for a matter of so great weight, as That was; and therefore, he would respite the same till his return:" the King intending to accompany the Queen to *Dover*, and as soon as she was embarked to return. They received this Answer with their usual impatience, and the next day sent Messengers to him, with that, which they called an Humble Petition; in which they told him, "that they had, with a great deal of grief, received his Answer to their just and necessary Petition concerning the Militia of the Kingdom; which, by a gracious Message formerly sent unto them, he had been pleased to promise should be put into

The King's  
Answer con-  
cerning the  
Militia.

Their Reply:

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 “the extent of their power, and the time of their  
 “continuance, being likewise declared. the which  
 “being now done, and the persons Nominated, his  
 “Majesty nevertheless reserved his resolution to a  
 “longer, and a very uncertain time; which, they  
 “said, was as unsatisfactory and destructive as an  
 “absolute Denial. Therefore, they once again be-  
 “sought him to take their desire into his Royal  
 “thoughts, and to give them such an Answer as  
 “might raise in them a Confidence, that they  
 “should not be exposed to the practices of those  
 “who thirst after the ruin of this Kingdom, and  
 “the kindling of that combustion in *England*, which  
 “they had in so great a measure effected in *Ireland*;  
 “from whence, as they were informed, they in-  
 “tended to invade this Kingdom, with the assistance  
 “of the Papists here. They said, nothing could  
 “prevent those evils, nor enable them to suppress  
 “the Rebellion in *Ireland*, and secure Themselves,  
 “but the Instant granting of that their Petition;  
 “which, they hoped, his Majesty would not deny  
 “to those, who must, in the discharge of their duty  
 “to his Majesty and the Common-wealth, represent  
 “unto him, what they found so absolutely necessary  
 “for the preservation of both; which the Laws of  
 “God and man enjoined them to see put in exe-  
 “cution, as several Counties by their daily Petitions  
 “desired Them to do, and in some places begun  
 “already to Do it of Themselves.” Notwith-  
 “standing all that importunity, the King made no other  
 “Answer than formerly he had done, “that he would  
 “give a full Answer at his return from *Dover*.”

In the mean time, the House of Commons, to whom every day Petitions are directed by the several Counties of *England*, professing all Allegiance to them, govern Absolutely, the Lords concurring, or rather submitting to whatsoever is proposed; in-  
 so-much as when they had bailed the twelve Bishops, who were in the Tower for the Treason of their Protestation, which they did the next day after the Bill was passed for taking away their Votes, the House of Commons in great indignation expostulated with them, and caused them immediately again to be recommitted to the Tower. So they gave their private intimations to their Correspondents in the Counties, that they should make small entries upon the Militia; which was done in many places, the people chusing their Officers, and Lifting themselves, and so Training and Exercising under the name of Volunteers; whereby they had opportunity to unite themselves, to know their Confederates, observe those who were of other opinions, and to provide Arms and Ammunition against they should have occasion. The Tower of *London* was at their Devotion, and *Hull* was their own; the Mayor of that place having been lately sent for and reprehended, for having said, "that they ought not to have Soldiers billeted upon them by the Petition of Right," and for refusing to submit that Town, which was His charge, to the Government of Mr. *Hotham*; and after a tedious and chargeable attendance, without being brought to a public hearing, he was persuaded to submit; and so was discharged.

Then they fell to raising of money under pretence

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The Lords  
bail the 12  
Bishops in the  
Tower, and  
the Commons  
recommit  
them,

Divers  
Counties, en-  
ter upon ex-  
ercising the  
Power of the  
Militia,

Money rais-  
ed under

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pretence of  
relieving  
Ireland.

of the relief of *Ireland*, and, for that purpose, prepared, "an Act for the payment of four hundred thousand pounds to such persons as were Nominat-  
 "ted by themselves, and to be disbursed and issued  
 "in such manner, and to such uses, as the two  
 "Houses should direct, which the King confirmed  
 "accordingly;" whereby they had a stock of credit to raise monies, whensoever they found themselves put to it: And this could not be prevented; for the King having committed the carrying on the War of *Ireland* to them, and they being engaged both for the payment of the arrears to the Officers of the Northern Army disbanded the Summer before, and of the three hundred thousand pounds to the Scots, his Majesty was necessitated to pass the Act with such General clauses, that it might be in their power to divert the money to other uses than those to which it was given; as it afterwards fell out.

The Queen  
shipped for  
Holland,  
the King  
returns  
to Green-  
wich, where  
the Prince  
meets him.

The Queen being shipped for *Holland*, his Majesty returned to *Greenwich*, whither he had sent to the Marquis of *Hertford* to bring the Prince of *Wales* from *Hampton-Court* to meet him; of which as soon as the Houses were advertised, they sent a Message to the King, who was upon his way from *Dover*, to desire him, "that the Prince might not  
 "be removed from *Hampton-Court*; for that they  
 "conceived his removal at That time, might be a  
 "cause to promote Jealousies and Fears in the hearts  
 "of his good Subjects, which they thought necessary  
 "to avoid;" and, at the same time, sent an express Order to the Marquis of *Hertford*, "to require  
 "him not to suffer the Prince to go to *Greenwich*;"  
 but

but his Lordship, chusing rather to obey the King's commands than Theirs, carried his Highness to his Father; of which the Houses no sooner were informed, than they sent some Members of both Houses to *Greenwich* "to bring the Prince from thence to *London*." But when they came thither, they found the King, whom they did not expect there; and so made no attempt to perform that Command. The reason of this extravagancy (besides their natural humor to affront the King, and this seeming care of the Prince was a Popular thing) was pretended to be an information they had received from a Member of the House.

There was one *Griffith*, a young Welsh-man, of no parts or reputation, but for eminent Licence; this youth had long, with great boldness, followed the Court, and pretended to preferment there; and so in the House had always opposed, as far as not consenting, all the undutiful Acts towards the King, and, upon this stock of merit, had pressed more confidently for a reward; and when the Queen was ready to take shipping at *Dover* for *Holland*, he barefaced importuned her to mediate to the King, "that he might be forthwith admitted of the Prince's Bed-Chamber; the which her Majesty refusing, he told his Companions, that since he could not render himself considerable by doing the King Service, he would be considerable by doing him Disservice:" and so made great haste to *London*, and openly in the House told them (the same day that the Prince was to go to *Greenwich*) "that if they were not exactly careful, they would speedily



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“ lose the Prince; for, to His knowledge, there was  
“ a design and resolution immediately to carry him  
“ into *France*.” From which senseless and ground-  
less information, he was taken into their favor;  
and, his Malice supplying the defect of other parts,  
was thenceforth taken into trust, and used as their  
*Bravo* to justify all their excesses in Taverns and  
Ordinaries. And I saw Mr. *Hambden*, shortly after  
this discovery, take him in his arms, telling him,  
“ his Soul rejoiced to see, that God had put it  
“ into his heart to take the right way.”

To their Message the King sent them word, “ that  
“ to Their Fears and Jealousies he knew not what  
“ Answer to give, not being able to imagine from  
“ what grounds they proceeded; but if any infor-  
“ mation had been given to them to cause those  
“ apprehensions, he much desired the same might  
“ be examined to the bottom; and then he hoped  
“ that their Fears and Jealousies would be Hereafter  
“ continued only with reference to his Majesty’s  
“ rights and Honor.”

The King’s  
further An-  
swer con-  
cerning the  
Militia.

The Queen being gone, and the Prince come to  
his Father at *Greenwich*, the King sent an Answer  
to the two Houses concerning the Militia; “ that  
“ having, with his best care and understanding,  
“ perused and considered that, which had been sent  
“ him from both Houses, for the ordering the  
“ Militia to be made an Ordinance of Parliament  
“ by the giving his Royal assent, as he could by  
“ no means do it for many reasons, so he did not  
“ conceive himself obliged to it by any Promise  
“ made to them in his Answer to their former Pe-

“ tition. He said, he found great cause to except S E C O N D  
 “ against the Preface, or Introduction to that Order; I V.  
 “ which confessed a most dangerous and desperate  
 “ design upon the House of Commons of late, sup-  
 “ posed to be an effect of the bloody Counsels of  
 “ Papists, and other ill affected persons, by which  
 “ many might understand (looking upon other  
 “ printed Papers to that purpose) his own coming  
 “ in Person to the House of Commons on the  
 “ fourth of *January*, which begot so unhappy a  
 “ misunderstanding between him and his People.  
 “ And for That, though he believed it, upon the  
 “ information since given him, to be a breach of  
 “ their Privileges, and had offered, and was ready,  
 “ to repair the same for the future, by any Act  
 “ should be desired from his Majesty; yet he must  
 “ declare, and require to be believed, that he had  
 “ no other design upon that House, or any Member  
 “ of it, than to require, as he did, the persons of  
 “ those five Gentlemen he had before accused of  
 “ High-Treason, and to declare that he meant to  
 “ proceed against them Legally, and Speedily; upon  
 “ which he believed that House would have deli-  
 “ vered them up.

“ He called the Almighty God to witness, that  
 “ he was so far from any intention, or thought of  
 “ force or violence, although that House had not  
 “ delivered them according to his demand, or in  
 “ any case whatsoever, that he gave those his Ser-  
 “ vants, and others, who then waited on his Ma-  
 “ jesty, express charge and command, that they  
 “ should give no offence unto any man; nay if they

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“ received any provocation or injury, that they  
 “ should bear it without return; and he neither saw,  
 “ nor knew, that any person of his train had any  
 “ other weapons, but his Pensioners and Guard,  
 “ those with which they Usually attend his person  
 “ to Parliament; and the other Gentlemen, Swords.  
 “ And therefore he doubted not, but the Parlia-  
 “ ment would be regardful of his Honor therein,  
 “ that he should not undergo any imputation by  
 “ the rash and indiscrete expressions of any young  
 “ men then in his train, or by any desperate words  
 “ uttered by others, who might mingle with them  
 “ without His consent or approbation.

“ For the persons Nominad to be the Lieute-  
 “ nants of the severall Counties of *England* and *Wales*,  
 “ he said he was contented to allow that recom-  
 “ mendation; only concerning the City of *London*,  
 “ and such other Corporations as by ancient Char-  
 “ ters had granted to them the power of the Militia,  
 “ he did not conceive that it could stand with Justice  
 “ or Policy to alter their Government in that par-  
 “ ticular. And he was willing forthwith to grant  
 “ to every one of them, that of *London* and other  
 “ Corporations excepted, such Commissions as he  
 “ had granted this Parliament to some Lords Lieute-  
 “ nants by their advice. But if that power were not  
 “ thought enough, but that more should be thought  
 “ fit to be granted to those persons named, than,  
 “ by the Law, is in the Crown itself, he said, he  
 “ thought it reasonable that the same should be by  
 “ some Law first vested in Him, with power to  
 “ transfer it to those persons; which he would wil-

“ lingly do: and whatever that power should be,  
 “ to avoid all future doubts and questions, he de-  
 “ fired it might be digested into an Act of Parlia-  
 “ ment, rather than an Ordinance; so that all his  
 “ Subjects might thereby particularly know, both  
 “ what they were to do, and what they were to  
 “ suffer for their neglect; that so there might be the  
 “ least latitude for them to suffer under any Arbi-  
 “ trary power whatsoever.

“ To the time desired for the Continuance of the  
 “ powers to be granted, he said, he could not  
 “ consent to divest himself of the Just Power, which  
 “ God, and the Laws of the Kingdom, had placed  
 “ in him for the defence of his People, and to put  
 “ it into the hands of others for any Indefinite time.  
 “ And since the ground of their request to him was  
 “ to secure their present Fears and Jealousies, that  
 “ they might with safety apply themselves to his  
 “ Message of the 20th of *January*, he hoped that  
 “ his Grace to them since that time, in yielding  
 “ to so many of their desires, and in agreeing to  
 “ the persons now recommended to him, and the  
 “ power before expressed to be placed in them,  
 “ would wholly dispel those Fears and Jealousies;  
 “ and he assured them, that as he had applied this  
 “ Unusual remedy to their Doubts; so, if there  
 “ should be cause, he would continue the same to  
 “ such time, as should be agreeable to the same care  
 “ he now expressed towards them.

“ He said, he was so far from receding from any  
 “ thing he had promised, or intended to grant in  
 “ his former Answer, that he had hereby consented



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“ to all that had been then asked of him by that  
 “ Petition, concerning the Militia of the Kingdom,  
 “ except that of *London* and the other Corporations;  
 “ which was, to put the same into the hands of  
 “ such persons, as should be recommended to him  
 “ by both Houses of Parliament. And he doubted  
 “ not but they, upon well weighing the particulars  
 “ of that his Answer, would find the same more  
 “ satisfactory to their ends, and the Peace and  
 “ Welfare of all his good Subjects, than the way  
 “ proposed by that intended Ordinance; to which,  
 “ for those reasons, he could not consent.

“ And whereas he observed by their late Petition,  
 “ that in some places, some persons begun already  
 “ to intermeddle of Themselves with the Militia,  
 “ he said, he expected his Parliament should exa-  
 “ mine the particulars thereof, it being a matter of  
 “ high concernment, and very great consequence.  
 “ And he required, that if it should appear to them,  
 “ that any person whosoever had presumed to com-  
 “ mand the Militia without lawful Authority, they  
 “ might be proceeded against according to Law.”

Notes of both  
 Houses upon  
 it.

It seems this was not the Answer they promised  
 themselves; for, at the publishing it, they were  
 marvellously transported, and immediately Voted,  
 both Houses concurring in it, “ that those who ad-  
 “ vised his Majesty to give that Answer, were Ene-  
 “ mies to the State, and mischievous projectors a-  
 “ gainst the defence of the Kingdom: That that  
 “ denial was of that dangerous Consequence, that  
 “ if his Majesty should persist in it, it would hazard  
 “ the Peace and Safety of all his Kingdoms, unless

“ some speedy Remedy were applied by the Wis-  
 “ dom, and Authority of both Houses of Parliament:  
 “ And that such parts of the Kingdom, as had al-  
 “ ready put themselves into a posture of Defence  
 “ against the common danger, had done nothing  
 “ but what was justifiable, and was approved by  
 “ both Houses.” And having caused these, and such  
 other Resolutions to be immediately published in  
 Print, that their Friends abroad might know what  
 they had to do, they sent a Committee of both Houses  
 to the King at *Theobald’s* with another Petition; in  
 which they told him, “ that their just apprehensions  
 “ of Sorrow and Fear, in respect of the public dan-  
 “ gers and miseries like to fall upon his Majesty and  
 “ the Kingdom, were much increased upon the  
 “ receipt of his unexpected denial of their most  
 “ Humble and Necessary Petition concerning the  
 “ Militia of the Kingdom; and that they were es-  
 “ pecially grieved, that wicked and mischievous  
 “ Counsellors should still have that Power with him,  
 “ as in that time of approaching and imminent Ruin,  
 “ he should rather incline to that, which was apt  
 “ to further the accomplishment of the desires  
 “ of the most malignant Enemies of God’s true Re-  
 “ ligion, and of the Peace and Safety of himself,  
 “ and his Kingdom, than to the Dutiful and Faith-  
 “ ful Counsel of his Parliament. Wherefore, they  
 “ said, they were enforced in all Humility to protest,  
 “ that, if his Majesty should persist in that denial,  
 “ the dangers and distempers of the Kingdom were  
 “ such, as would endure no longer delay: but un-  
 “ less he should be graciously pleased to assure them

A Petition  
 of both Hou-  
 ses to the  
 King at  
 Theobald’s.

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“ by those Messengers, that he would speedily apply his Royal Assent to the satisfaction of their former desires, they should be enforced, for the Safety of his Majesty and his Kingdoms, to dispose of the Militia by the Authority of both Houses, in such a manner as had been propounded to him; and they resolved to do it accordingly.

“ They likewise most Humbly besought his Majesty to believe, that the dangerous and desperate design upon the House of Commons, mentioned in their Preamble, was not inserted with any intention to cast the least aspersion upon his Majesty; but therein they reflected upon that Malignant Party, of whose bloody and malicious practices they had so often experience, and from which they could never be secure, unless his Majesty would be pleased to put from him those wicked and unfaithful Counsellors, who interposed their own corrupt and malicious designs betwixt his Majesty's goodness and wisdom, and the prosperity and contentment of himself, and of his People: And that for the despatch of the great Affairs of the Kingdom, the Safety of his Person, the Protection and Comfort of his Subjects, he would be pleased to continue his abode near to *London*, and the Parliament; and not to withdraw himself to any the remoter parts, which if he should do, must needs be a cause of great danger and distraction.

“ That He would likewise be graciously pleased to continue the Prince's Highness in those parts at *St. James's*, or any other of his Houses near

“ *London*; whereby the designs, which the Enemies of the Religion, and Peace of the Kingdom might have upon his Person, and the Jealousies and Fears of his People, might be prevented.

“ And they besought him to be informed by them that, by the Laws of the Kingdom, the power of raising, ordering, and disposing of the Militia within any City, Town, or other place, could not be granted to any Corporation by Charter, or otherwise, without the Authority and Consent of Parliament: And that those parts of the Kingdom, which had put themselves in a posture of Defence against the Common danger, had therein done nothing but according to the Declaration and Direction of both Houses, and what was justifiable by the Laws of the Kingdom. All which their most humble counsel and desires they prayed him to accept, as the effect of that Duty and Allegiance, which they owed unto him, and which would not suffer them to admit of any thoughts, intentions, or endeavours, but such as were necessary and advantageous for his Greatness, and Honor, and the Safety, and Prosperity of the Kingdom, according to that Trust and Power which the Laws had reposed in them.”

As soon as the Petition was read, the King told them that presented it, “ that he was so much amazed at their Message, that he knew not what to Answer. He said they spoke of Jealousies, and Fears, but he desired them to lay their hands to their hearts, and ask themselves, whether He might not likewise be disturbed with Fears and

The King's  
present Answer.



B O O K “ Jealousies? and if so, he assured them, that Mes-  
IV. sage had nothing lessened them.

“ For the Militia, he said, he had thought so  
“ much of it before he sent his Answer, and was so  
“ well assured that the Answer was agreeable to  
“ what, in justice or reason, They could ask, or  
“ He in honor grant, that He should not alter it in  
“ any point.

“ For his Residence near them, he said, he wished  
“ it might be so safe and honorable, that he had no  
“ cause to absent himself from *White-Hall*; He bid  
“ them ask themselves, whether he had not?” For  
his Son, He said, “ he should take that care of him,  
“ which should justify him to God, as a Father;  
“ and to his Dominions, as a King. To conclude,  
“ he assured them upon his Honor, that he had no  
“ thought but of Peace, and Justice to his People;  
“ which he would by all fair means seek to preserve  
“ and maintain, relying upon the Goodness and  
“ Providence of God for the preservation of himself,  
“ and his Rights.’

This, being suddenly, and with more than usual  
quickness spoken by the King, much appalled them;  
but they were too far engaged to retire; and there-  
fore, as soon as it was reported to the Houses, they  
resolved, upon debate, “ that the King should  
“ be forthwith put into a posture of Defence, by  
“ authority of both Houses, in such a way as had  
“ been formerly agreed upon by both Houses; and  
“ that a Declaration should be speedily sent unto the  
“ King, containing the causes of their just Fears and  
“ Jealousies, and to make it evident that any that

The Resolu-  
tion of both  
Houses upon it

“ were entertained against Them were groundless;” B O O K  
 Ordering at the same time, “ that all the Lords IV.  
 “ Lieutenants of any Counties in *England*, who had  
 “ been formerly so constituted by the King by his  
 “ Commissions under the great Seal of *England*,  
 “ should immediately bring in those Commissions  
 “ to be cancelled as illegal:” Albeit some such Com-  
 missions had been granted, upon their own desire,  
 since the beginning of the Parliament, as particularly  
 to the Earl of *Essex* to be Lord Lieutenant of *York-*  
*shire*, and to the Earl of *Salisbury* for *Dorsetshire*.

Then both Houses sent to the Earl of *Northumber-* They send to  
*land*, being High-Admiral of *England*, “ that they the Earl of  
 “ had received advertisement of extraordinary pre- Northumber-  
 parations made, by the neighbouring Princes, land to pro-  
 “ both by Land and Sea; by which an apprehension vide a Fleet.  
 “ was raised in both Houses, that the public Honor,  
 “ Peace, and Safety of his Majesty, and his Kingdom,  
 “ could not be secured, unless a timely course was  
 “ taken for the putting the Kingdom into a condition  
 “ of Defence at Sea, as well as at Land: and they  
 “ did therefore Order him forthwith to give effectual  
 “ direction that all the Ships belonging to his  
 “ Majesty’s Navy, and fit for Service, and not  
 “ already abroad, or designed for the Summer-Fleet,  
 “ should be Rigged, and put in such a readiness, as  
 “ that they might be soon fitted for the Sea: and  
 “ that his Lordship would also make known to the  
 “ Masters, and Owners of other Ships, in any of  
 “ the Harbours of the Kingdom, as might be of use  
 “ for the Public Defence, that it would be an ac-  
 “ ceptable Service, to the King and Parliament, if

BOOK IV. " They would likewise cause their Ships to be  
 " Rigged, and so far put into a readiness, as they  
 " might, at a short warning, likewise be set to Sea  
 " upon any emergent occasion; which would be a  
 " means of great Security to his Majesty and his  
 " Dominions" To which the Earl returned an  
 Answer full of Submission and Obedience.

Their Decla-  
 ration to his  
 Majesty.

I Have been assured from Persons of very good  
 Credit, and conversant with those Councils, that  
 they had in deliberation and debate to send, and take  
 the Prince from his Father at *Theobald's* by force;  
 but that design was quickly laid aside, when they  
 heard that the King was removed from thence to  
*New-Market*, and was like to make a further progress.  
 So they used all possible expedition in preparing their  
 Declaration, which they directed to his Majesty,  
 and in which they told him, " that although that  
 " Answer, he had given to their Petition at  
 " *Theobald's*, did give just cause of sorrow to them;  
 " yet it was not without some mixture of Conscience  
 " and Hope, considering those expressions proceeded  
 " from the misapprehensions of their Actions and In-  
 " tentions; which, having no ground of truth or  
 " reality, might, by his Justice and Wisdom, be  
 " removed, when he should be fully informed, that  
 " those Fears and Jealousies of theirs, which his  
 " Majesty thought to be causeless, and without any  
 " just ground, did necessarily and clearly arise from  
 " those dangers and distempers, into which the mis-  
 " chievous and evil Councils about him had brought  
 " the Kingdom. And that those other Fears and  
 " Jealousies, by which his Favor, his Royal Presence,

“ and Confidence, had been withdrawn from his  
 “ Parliament, had no foundation or subsistence in  
 “ any Action, Intention, or miscarriage of Theirs;  
 “ but were merely grounded upon the falshood and  
 “ malice of those who, for the supporting and fomen-  
 “ ting their own wicked designs against the Religion,  
 “ and Peace of the Kingdom, did seek to deprive  
 “ his Majesty of the strength, and the affection of his  
 “ People; and Them of his Grace and Protection;  
 “ and thereby, to subject both his Person, and the  
 “ whole Kingdom, to Ruin and Destruction.

“ That to satisfy his Majesty’s Judgment and Con-  
 “ science in both those Points, they desired to make  
 “ a free, and clear Declaration of the causes of their  
 “ Fears and Jealousies, in some particulars.

1 “ That the design of altering Religion, in this  
 “ and his other Kingdoms, had been potently carried  
 “ on, by those in greatest Authority about him. for  
 “ divers Years together: and that the Queen’s Agent  
 “ at *Rome*, and the Pope’s Agent, or Nuntio, Here,  
 “ were not only evidences of that design, but had  
 “ been great Actors in it.

2. “ That the War with *Scotland* was procured  
 “ to make way for that intent, and chiefly fo-  
 “ mented by the Papists, and others Popishly  
 “ affected, whereof they had many evidences,  
 “ especially their free and general contribution to it.

3. “ That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed,  
 “ and contrived here in *England*; and that the *English*  
 “ Papists should have risen about the same time, they  
 “ had several testimonies and advertisements from  
 “ *Ireland*, and that it was a common Speech amongst

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“ the Rebels (with, which they said, other evi-  
 “ dences did Concur, as the information of a Minister  
 “ who came out of *Ireland*; the Letter of one *Tristram*  
 “ *Whetcomb* in *Ireland* to his Brother in *England*,  
 “ and many others) that they would recover unto his  
 “ Majesty his Royal Prerogative, wrested from him  
 “ by the Puritan Faction in the House of Parliament  
 “ in *England*, and would maintain Episcopal jurisdic-  
 “ tion, and the lawfulness thereof; which they said,  
 “ were the two quarrels, upon which his late Army in  
 “ the North should have been incensed against them.

4. “ The cause they had to doubt that the late  
 “ design, styled the Queen’s Pious Intention, was  
 “ for the alteration of Religion in this Kingdom, for  
 “ success whereof the Pope’s Nuntio (the Count  
 “ *Rozetti*) enjoined Fasting and Praying to be ob-  
 “ served every week by the *English* Papists; which,  
 “ they said, appeared to them by one of the original  
 “ Letters directed by him to a Priest in *Lancashire*.

5. “ The boldness of the *Irish* Rebels in affirming  
 “ they do nothing but by Authority from the King;  
 “ that they call themselves the Queen’s Army; that  
 “ the prey and booty they take from the *English*,  
 “ they mark with the Queen’s mark; that their pur-  
 “ pose was to come into *England*, when their busi-  
 “ ness was done in *Ireland*; and sundry other things  
 “ of that kind, which, they said, were proved by  
 “ one *Oconelly*, and others; but especially in the fore-  
 “ mentioned Letter from *Tristram Whetcomb*, where-  
 “ in there was this passage, that many other Speeches  
 “ they utter, concerning Religion, and our Court  
 “ of *England*, which he dares not commit to paper.

6. “ The many attempts to provoke his late Army,

“ and the Army of the Scots, and to raise a Faction  
 “ in the City of *London*, and other parts of the King-  
 “ dom That those who had been Actors in these  
 “ businesses, had their dependance, their counte-  
 “ nance, and encouragement, from the Court;  
 “ witness the Treason, whereof Mr. *Jermyn*, and  
 “ others, stood accused; who, they said, was  
 “ transported beyond Seas by Warrant under his  
 “ Majesty’s own hand, after he had given assurance  
 “ to his Parliament, that he had laid a strict com-  
 “ mand upon his Servants, that none of them should  
 “ depart from Court. And that dangerous Petition  
 “ delivered to Captain *Leg* by his Majesty’s own  
 “ hand, accompanied with a direction Signed  
 “ with *C. R.*

7. “ The false and scandalous accusation against  
 “ the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the  
 “ House of Commons, tendered to the Parliament  
 “ by his own Command, and endeavoured to be  
 “ justified in the City by his own presence and per-  
 “ suasion, and to be put in execution upon their  
 “ persons by his demand of them in the House of  
 “ Commons, in so terrible and violent a manner, as  
 “ far exceeded all former breaches of Privileges of  
 “ Parliament acted by his Majesty, or any of his  
 “ Predecessors: and they said, whatever his own  
 “ intentions were divers bloody and desperate per-  
 “ sons, that attended him, discovered their affec-  
 “ tions, and resolutions, to have massacred and  
 “ destroyed the Members of that House, if the  
 “ absence of those persons accused had not, by  
 “ God’s providence, stopped the giving that word,

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“ which they expected for the setting them upon that  
 “ barbarous and bloody Act: The lifting of Officers,  
 “ and Soldiers, for a Guard at *White-Hall*, and such  
 “ other particulars.

8. “ That, after a Vote had passed in the House of  
 “ Commons, declaring that the Lord *Digby* had ap-  
 “ peared in a Warlike manner at *Kingston upon Tha-*  
 “ *mes*, to the terror and affright of his Majesty's  
 “ good Subjects, and disturbance of the public Peace  
 “ of the Kingdom, he should nevertheless be in  
 “ that credit with his Majesty, as to be sent away  
 “ by his Majesty's own Warrant to Sir *J. Pennington*  
 “ to land him beyond Seas: from whence he vented  
 “ his own Traiterous conceptions, that his Ma-  
 “ jesty should declare himself, and retire to a place  
 “ of strength; as if he could not be safe amongst  
 “ his People. Which false and malicious counsel,  
 “ and advice, they said, they had great cause to  
 “ doubt, made too deep an impression upon his  
 “ Majesty, considering the course he was pleased  
 “ to take of absenting himself from his Parliament,  
 “ and carrying the Prince with him; which seemed  
 “ to express a purpose in his Majesty to keep himself  
 “ in a readiness for the acting of it.

9. “ The many advertisements they had from *Rome*,  
 “ *Paris*, *Venice*, and other parts, that they still  
 “ expected that his Majesty had some great design  
 “ in hand, for the altering of Religion, and the  
 “ breaking the neck of his Parliament. That the  
 “ Pope's Nuntio had solicited the Kings of *France*,  
 “ and *Spain*, to lend his Majesty four thousand Men  
 “ a-piece, to help to maintain his Royalty against  
 “ the

“ the Parliament. And they said, as that Foreign B O O II  
 “ Force was the most pernicious, and Malignant IV.  
 “ design of all the rest; so they hoped it was, and  
 “ should always be, farthest from his Majesty’s  
 “ thoughts; because no man would believe he would  
 “ give up his People, and Kingdom, to be spoiled  
 “ by Strangers, if he did not likewise intend to  
 “ change both his own Profession in Religion, and  
 “ the Public profession of the Kingdom, that so he  
 “ might be still more assured of those Foreign States  
 “ of the Popish Religion for their future Support,  
 “ and Defence.

“ These, they said, were some of the grounds  
 “ of their Fears and Jealousies, which had made  
 “ them so earnestly implore his Royal Authority,  
 “ and Protection, for their Defence and Security,  
 “ in all the ways of Humility and Submission; which  
 “ being denied by his Majesty, seduced by evil  
 “ Counsel, they did, with sorrow for the great and  
 “ unavoidable misery and danger, which was there-  
 “ by like to fall upon his own Person, and his  
 “ Kingdoms, apply themselves to the use of that  
 “ Power for the Security and Defence of both,  
 “ which, by the fundamental Laws and Constitu-  
 “ tions of the Kingdom, resided in them; yet still  
 “ resolving to keep themselves within the bounds of  
 “ Faithfulness, and Allegiance to his Sacred Person,  
 “ and Crown.

“ To the Fears and Jealousies expressed by his  
 “ Majesty, when he said, that for his Residence  
 “ near the Parliament, he wished it might be so safe  
 “ and honorable, that he had no cause to absent



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“ himself from *White-Hall*: That, they said, they  
“ took as the greatest breach of Privilege that could  
“ be offered; as the heaviest misery to Himself, and  
“ imputation upon Them, that could be imagined,  
“ and the most mischievous effect of evil Counsels;  
“ it rooted up the strongest Foundation of the safe-  
“ ty, and honor, the Crown afforded; it seemed  
“ as much as might be, they said, to cast upon the  
“ Parliament such a Charge, as was inconsistent  
“ with the nature of that great Council, being the  
“ Body, of which his Majesty was the Head; it  
“ struck at the very Being both of the King and  
“ Parliament, depriving his Majesty, in his own  
“ apprehension, of Their Fidelity, and Them of  
“ His Protection; which are the natural bonds and  
“ supports of Government, and Subjection.

“ They said, they had, according to his Majesty’s  
“ desire, laid their hands upon their hearts; they  
“ had asked themselves in the strictest examina-  
“ tion of their Consciences; they had searched  
“ their affections, their thoughts, considered their  
“ actions; and they found none, that could give  
“ his Majesty any just occasion to absent himself  
“ from *White-Hall*, and his Parliament; but that  
“ he might, with more honor and safety, continue  
“ There, than in any other place. They said, his  
“ Majesty laid a General Tax upon them: if he  
“ would be graciously pleased to let them know the  
“ Particulars, they should give a clear and satisfac-  
“ tory Answer. But, they said, they could have  
“ no hope of ever giving his Majesty satisfaction,  
“ when those Particulars, which he had been made

“ believe were true, yet, being produced, and B O O K  
 “ made known to them, appeared to be false; and IV.  
 “ his Majesty notwithstanding would neither punish,  
 “ nor produce the Authors, but go on to contract  
 “ new Fears and Jealousies, upon General and Un-  
 “ certain grounds; affording them no means, or  
 “ possibility of Particular Answer to the clearing of  
 “ themselves, of which they gave him these Instan-  
 “ ces. 1. The Speeches pretended to be spoken at  
 “ *Kensington* concerning the Queen, which had been  
 “ denied and disavowed; yet his Majesty had not  
 “ named the Authors. 2. The Charge and Accu-  
 “ sation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Mem-  
 “ bers, who refused no Trial or Examination,  
 “ which might stand with the Privileges of Parlia-  
 “ ment; yet no Authors, no Witnesses, were pro-  
 “ duced, against whom they might have repara-  
 “ tion for the great injury, and infamy cast upon  
 “ them.

“ They besought his Majesty to consider in what  
 “ State he was, how easy and fair a way he had to  
 “ Happiness, Honor, Greatness, and Plenty, and  
 “ Security, if he would join with his Parliament,  
 “ and his faithful Subjects, in the defence of the  
 “ Religion, and the Public Good of the Kingdom.  
 “ That, they said, was all they expected from him,  
 “ and for that, they would return to him their Lives,  
 “ Fortunes, and utmost endeavours to support his  
 “ Majesty, his just Sovereignty, and Power over  
 “ them. But, they said, it was not Words that  
 “ could secure them in those their Humble desires;  
 “ they could not but too well and sorrowfully

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“ remember, what gracious Messages they had from  
 “ him the last Summer, when, with His privity,  
 “ the bringing up of the Army was in agitation:  
 “ They could not but with the like affections recal  
 “ to their minds, how, not two days before he  
 “ gave direction for the aforementioned Accusation,  
 “ and his own Coming to the Commons House, that  
 “ House received from him a Gracious Message,  
 “ that he would always have care of Their Privile-  
 “ ges, as of his Own Prerogative; and of the safety  
 “ of Their Persons, as of his Own Children.

“ They said, that which they expected, and which  
 “ would give them assurance that he had no thought  
 “ but of Peace, and Justice to his People, must be  
 “ some real effect of his Goodness to them, in grant-  
 “ ing those things, which the present necessity of  
 “ the Kingdom did inforce them to desire. And in  
 “ the first place, that he would be Graciously pleased  
 “ to put from him those wicked, and mischievous  
 “ Counsellors, which had caused all those dangers,  
 “ and distractions; and to continue his own Resi-  
 “ dence, and the Prince’s, near *London*, and the  
 “ Parliament, which, they hoped, would be a  
 “ happy beginning of Contentment, and Confidence  
 “ between Him and his People; and be followed  
 “ with many succeeding Blessings of Honor and  
 “ Greatness to his Majesty, and of Security and  
 “ Prosperity to Them.”

In the debate of this Declaration, the like whereof  
 had never before been heard of in Parliament, in  
 which they took his Majesty’s doubt of his safety at  
*White Hall* so heavily, that, they said, “ it seemed

“ to cast such a charge upon the Parliament, as was E O O K  
 “ inconsistent with the nature of that great Council;” IV.  
 (so apprehensive they were of the least suspicion of want of freedom) the Prevalent Party carried themselves with that pride, and impetuosity, that they would endure no opposition or dispute; insomuch as Sir *Ralph Hopton* (who indeed was very grievous to them for not complying with them) for objecting against some sharp expressions in the Declaration (before it passed the House, and when the Question was, whether it should pass) as being too distant from that reverence, which ought to be used to the King; and for saying, upon a Clause, in which they mentioned their General Intelligence from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other places, of some design the King had upon Religion, and the Parliament, from whence they seemed to conclude that the King would change his Religion, “ That they seemed to ground “ an opinion of the King’s Apostacy upon a less “ evidence, than would serve to hang a fellow for “ stealing a Horse,” was committed to the Tower of *London*, “ for laying an imputation upon that “ Committee, which had drawn up the Declaration.” Notwithstanding which, after they had imprisoned him, they thought fit to make That expression less gross, and positive; though as it is set down above (in which words it passed, and was delivered to the King) it was thought by standers by to be very unagreeable to the Gravity of a wise Court, and to the Duty of Subjects.

But in this particular, in oppressing all those who were of different opinions from them, their carriage



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was so notorious and terrible, that Spies were set upon, and inquiries made upon all private, light, casual discourses, which fell from those who were not Gracious to them: As Mr. *Trelawny*, a Member of the House of Commons, and a Merchant of great reputation, was expelled the House, and committed to Prison, for having said, in a Private discourse in the City, to a Friend, "that the House could not appoint a Guard for themselves without the King's consent, under pain of High-Treason:" Which was proved by a fellow, who pretended to overhear him; when the person himself, with whom the conference was held, declared, "that he said, it Might be imputed to them for High-Treason:" and it was confessed on all parts, that the words were spoken long before the discovery, and some days before the House had Resolved, "that they would have a Guard." And afterwards, upon the old stock of their dislike, when the War begun to break out, they again imprisoned this honest Gentleman; seized upon all his Estate, which was very good; and suffered him to die in Prison for want of ordinary relief, and refreshment.

And in this very time, we speak of, and in the very business of the Militia, when every day very great multitudes of Petitions from most of the Counties of *England*, and from the City of *London*, were presented to both Houses, to desire they might be put into a posture of defence; and that they would cause the Ordinance for the Militia to be speedily executed, which was alledged to be an instance of the people's desire throughout the Kingdom, and

the chief ground of their proceeding; the most substantial Citizens of *London* both in reputation, and Estate, finding that the Militia of that City, with which by their Charter, and Constant Practice. the Lord Mayor had been always intrusted, was now with a most extravagant power to be committed to a Number of Factionous persons of the City, part of whom consisted of men of no fortune. or reputation, resolved to Petition both Houses “not to alter the “original constitution, and right of their City:” to that purpose, a Petition was signed by some hundreds, and very probably would in few days have been subscribed by all, or most of the substantial Citizens of *London*. The House had notice of this Petition, which they called another Conspiracy and Plot against the Parliament, and immediately employed a Member of their own to procure a sight of it; who, under a trust of redelivering it. got it into his hands, and brought it to the House of Commons; upon which, some principal Citizens, who had subscribed it, were examined, and committed to Prison, and a direction given, that a Charge, and Impeachment should be prepared against the Recorder of *London*, who, they heard, had been of Council in the drawing up, and preparing that Petition, and, they knew, was opposite to their Tumultuary proceedings. So when the chief Gentlemen of *Oxfordshire* heard that a Petition had been delivered to the House of Commons in their Name, and the name of that County, against the established Government of the Church. and for the exercise of the Militia, they assembled together to draw up

B O O K a Petition, disavowing the former, and to desire;  
 IV. "that the settled Laws might be observed;" of which the Lord *Say* having notice, he procured the chief Gentlemen to be sent for as Delinquents, and so suppressed that Address: And this was the measure of their Justice in many other particulars of the same nature, receiving and cherishing all mutinous; and seditious Petitions, and discountenancing such as besought the continuance, and vindication, of the so long celebrated and happy Government in Church and State; the prime leaders of that Faction not blushing, in public debates in the House, to aver "that no man ought to Petition for the Government established by Law, because he had already his Wish; but they that desired an Alteration, could not otherwise have their desires known; and therefore were to be countenanced."

They like-  
 wife present  
 the King  
 with Rea-  
 sons for his  
 continuance  
 near the  
 Parliament.

The Committee, which presented the Declaration to the King at *New-Market*, presented likewise additional reasons, as they called them, for his Majesty's return, and continuance near the Parliament, as a matter, in their apprehension, of so great necessity, and importance towards the preservation of his Person, and his Kingdom: and they said,

"They could not think they discharged their duties in the single expression of their desire, unless they added some further reasons to back it with. 1. his Majesty's absence would cause men to believe, that it was out of design to discourage the undertakers, and hinder the other provisions for raising money for the defence of *Ireland*. 2. It would very much hearten the Rebels There, and

“ disaffected persons in This Kingdom, as being an  
 “ evidence, and effect of the Jealousy and Division  
 “ between his Majesty, and his people. 3. That it  
 “ would much weaken, and withdraw the Affec-  
 “ tion of the Subject from his Majesty; without  
 “ which, a Prince is deprived of his chiefest strength,  
 “ and lustre, and left naked to the greatest dangers  
 “ and miseries, that can be imagined. 4. That it  
 “ would invite, and encourage the Enemies of our  
 “ Religion and the State in foreign parts, to the  
 “ attempting, and acting of their evil designs, and  
 “ intentions towards us. 5. That it did cause a  
 “ great interruption in the proceedings of Parlia-  
 “ ment. Those considerations, they said, threatened  
 “ so great dangers to his Person, and to all his  
 “ Dominions, that, as his Great Council, they held  
 “ it necessary to represent to him this their faithful  
 “ Advice, that so, whatsoever should follow,  
 “ They might be excused before God, and Man.”

Whilst that Declaration was reading, his Majesty  
 expressed some passion upon particular expressions;  
 and once, when that passage was read, that takes  
 notice “ of the transportation of Mr. *Jermyn* by his  
 “ Majesty’s own Warrant, after he had given his  
 “ word, that he had commanded that none of his  
 “ Servants should depart from Court,” interrupted  
 the Earl of *Holland*, who read it, and said, “ that’s  
 “ False;” and when he was told, “ it related not to  
 “ the Date, but the Execution of the Warrant,” his  
 Majesty said, “ It might have been better expressed  
 “ then : It is a high thing to tax a King with breach  
 “ of Promise.” But after both the Declarations,



B O O K and Reasons were read, the King, after a short pause,  
IV. said to them:

His Majesty's Answer  
to both.

“ I am confident that you expect not I should give  
“ you a speedy Answer to this strange, and unex-  
“ pected Declaration; and I am sorry, in the dis-  
“ traction of this Kingdom, you should think This  
“ way of Address to be more convenient, than That  
“ propounded, by my Message of the twentieth of  
“ *January* last, to both Houses. As concerning the  
“ grounds of your Fears and Jealousies, I will take  
“ time to Answer them particularly; and doubt not  
“ but I shall do it to the satisfaction of all the world.  
“ God in His good time will, I hope, discover the  
“ secrets and bottoms of all Plots, and Treasons,  
“ and Then I shall stand right in the eyes of all my  
“ People. In the mean time I must tell you, that I  
“ rather expected a vindication for the imputation  
“ laid upon me in Mr. *Pym's* Speech, than that any  
“ more General rumors, and discourses, should get  
“ credit with you. For My fears and Doubts, I did  
“ not think they should have been thought so trivial  
“ and groundless, whilst so many seditious Pamphlets,  
“ and Sermons, are looked upon, and so great Tu-  
“ mults remembered, unpunished, and uninquired  
“ into. I still confess my Fears, and call God to  
“ witness, that they are greater for the true Pro-  
“ testant profession, my People and Laws, than for  
“ my own rights, or safety, though I must tell you,  
“ I conceive none of these are free from danger.  
“ What would you have? Have I violated your  
“ Laws? Have I denied to pass any one Bill for  
“ the ease, and security of my Subjects? I do not

“ ask you what You have done for Me. Are my  
 “ People transported with Fears and Apprehensions?  
 “ I have offered as free, and general a Pardon as  
 “ yourselves can devise. There is a Judgment from  
 “ Heaven upon this Nation, if these distractions  
 “ continue. God so deal with Me, and Mine, as  
 “ all my thoughts, and intentions, are upright for  
 “ the maintenance of the true Protestant profession,  
 “ and for the observation and preservation of the  
 “ Laws of the Land: and I hope God will bless,  
 “ and assist those Laws for my preservation.”

This being suddenly, and with some vehemence,  
 spoken by his Majesty, and he having taken further  
 time to Answer the Declaration, and the Reasons,  
 the Committee besought him, “ since they were to  
 “ carry back with them no other Answer, that his  
 “ Majesty would vouchsafe to give them what he  
 “ had spoken, in writing;” which, the next morning,  
 he did: And then the Earl of *Holland* again desired  
 him, “ that he would reside nearer his Parliament;”  
 whereunto the King briefly Answered, “ I would  
 “ you had given me cause; but I am sure this De-  
 “ claration is not the way to it.” Then being asked  
 by the Earl of *Pembroke*, whether the Militia might  
 not be granted, as was desired by the Parliament,  
 for a time? He Answered, “ By God not for an  
 “ hour. You have asked that of me in this, was  
 “ never asked of a King, and with which I will  
 “ not trust my Wife, and Children. He told them,  
 “ he could not have believed the Parliament would  
 “ have sent him such a Declaration, if he had not  
 “ seen it brought by such Persons: and said he was

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“ Sorry for the Parliament, but Glad he had it; for  
 “ by that he doubted not to satisfy his People. He  
 “ said they spoke of ill Councils; but he was con-  
 “ fident They had worse Information, than he had  
 “ Councils. He told them, the business of *Ireland*  
 “ would never be done in the way they were in,  
 “ four hundred would never do that work; it must  
 “ be put into the hands of One: and, he said, if  
 “ He were trusted with it, he would pawn his Head  
 “ to end that work.”

As soon as the Committee returned and reported, what Answer they had received, and in what disposition and temper they found, and left the King; it was Ordered, that their Declaration; which they had sent to him, should be speedily printed, and carefully dispersed throughout the Kingdom, that the People might see upon what terms they stood; and all other possible courses were taken to poison the hearts, and affections of the Subjects, and to suppress all those, who, in any degree, seemed to dislike their high proceedings. Above all, care was taken to place such Preachers, and Lecturers, in the most populous Towns and Parishes, as were well known to Abhor the present Government, and temperature of Church and State; many of whom were recommended, and positively enjoined, and imposed upon Parishes by the House of Commons; and others, by such Factionous Members, whose reputation was most current: and all Canonical Clergy men, and Orthodox Divines, were, with equal industry, discountenanced, imprisoned, or forced to a long attendance upon Committees, or

the House (which was worse than Imprisonment) under the notion and imputation of Scandalous Ministers. Which charge and reproach reached all men whose Inclinations they liked not, or whose Opinions they suspected. And that they might be sure to be as strong and absolute at Sea, as at Land, they appointed the Lord Admiral to send the Names of all those Captains of Ships, who were to attend the Fleet for that Summer-Service, to them, to the end they might have such men, in whom they might Confide; which his Lordship most punctually observed. By which they helped to free him of those Officers whom he could not plausibly have discharged; and struck out the names of those, whose Affections, or Relations they thought themselves not secure in.

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The King thought it now time, according to his former resolution, which he had not communicated to many, to remove to *York*, which was a place of good reception, and conveniency, for those who were willing to attend him; and to the end that there might be public notice of it, he sent from *Huntington*, when he was upon his Journey, a Message to both Houses: "That, being then in his re-  
" move to his City of *York*, where he intended to  
" make his residence for some time, he thought fit  
" to send that Message to them, and very earnestly  
" to desire them, that they would use all possible  
" industry in expediting the business of *Ireland*; in  
" which they should find so cheerful a concurrence  
" from his Majesty, that no inconvenience should  
" happen to that Service by his absence, he having

The King's  
Message to  
both Houses  
in his way to  
*York*.



B O O K “ all that passion for the reducing that Kingdom ,  
IV. “ which he had expressed in his former Messages ,  
“ and being, by Words, unable to manifest more  
“ affection to it, than he had endeavoured to do by  
“ those Messages : having likewise done all such  
“ Acts, as he had been moved unto by his Parlia-  
“ ment. Therefore, if the misfortunes and calami-  
“ ties of his poor Protestant Subjects there should  
“ grow upon them (though he should be deeply  
“ concerned in, and sensible of their sufferings) he  
“ said, he should wash his hands before the world  
“ from the least imputation of slackness in that most  
“ necessary, and pious work.

“ And, that he might leave no way unattempted,  
“ which might beget a good understanding between  
“ him and his Parliament, he said, he thought it  
“ necessary to declare, that, as He had been so ten-  
“ der of the Privileges of Parliament, that he had  
“ been ready and forward to retract any Act of his  
“ own, which he had been informed had trenched  
“ upon Their Privileges; so he expected an equal  
“ tenderness in Them of His known Prerogatives ,  
“ which are the unquestionable Privileges of the  
“ Kingdom ; amongst which, he was assured, it  
“ was a Fundamental one, that his Subjects could  
“ not be obliged to obey any Act, Order, or In-  
“ junction, to which He had not given his Consent.

“ And, therefore, he thought it necessary to pub-  
“ lish, that he expected, and thereby required,  
“ obedience from all his loving Subjects to the Laws  
“ established; and that they presumed not upon  
“ any pretence of Order, or Ordinance, to which

“ his Majesty was no Party, concerning the Militia,  
 “ or any other thing, to do, or execute what was  
 “ not warrantable by those Laws; he being resolved  
 “ to keep the Laws Himself, and to require obedience  
 “ to them from all his Subjects.

“ He once more recommended unto them the  
 “ substance of his Message of the twentieth of *Ja-*  
 “ *nuary* last; that they would compose, and digest  
 “ with all speed, such Acts as they should think fit  
 “ for the present, and future establishment of their  
 “ Privileges, the free and quiet enjoying their Esta-  
 “ tes and fortunes, the liberties of their persons, the  
 “ security of the true Religion Then professed in the  
 “ Church of *England*, the maintaining his Regal and  
 “ Just Authority, and settling his Revenue; he being  
 “ most desirous to take all fitting and just ways,  
 “ which might beget a happy understanding between  
 “ him and his Parliament, in which he conceived  
 “ his greatest Power, and Riches did consist.”

I have not known both Houses in more choler  
 and rage, than upon the receiving this Message,  
 which came early to them on *Wednesday* the sixteenth  
 of *March*. Now the day before had been spent in  
 preparing all things ready for the execution of the  
 Ordinance of the Militia; They had Voted, and  
 Resolved, “ that it was not any way against the  
 “ Oath of Allegiance, that all the Commissions to  
 “ Lieutenants under the great Seal were Illegal, and  
 “ Void; and that whosoever should execute any  
 “ power over the Militia by color of any Commission  
 “ of Lieutenancy, without consent of both Houses  
 “ of Parliament, should be accounted a disturber

Both Houses  
 Votes con-  
 cerning the  
 Militia.

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“ of the Peace of the Kingdom.” Then they agreed upon this Proposition, “ that the Kingdom Had  
“ been of late, and Still was, in so evident and im-  
“ minent danger, both from Enemies abroad, and a  
“ Popish and discontented Party at home, that there  
“ was an urgent, and inevitable necessity of putting  
“ his Majesty’s Subjects into a posture of defence,  
“ for the safeguard both of the King, and his People;  
“ and that the Lords and Commons, apprehending  
“ that danger, and being sensible of their own duty  
“ to provide a suitable prevention, had, in several  
“ Petitions, addressed themselves to his Majesty  
“ for the ordering, and disposing the Militia of the  
“ Kingdom in such a way, as was agreed upon, by  
“ the wisdom of both Houses, to be most proper  
“ for the present exigence of the Kingdom: Yet  
“ they could not obtain it; but his Majesty did  
“ several times refuse to give his Royal assent there-  
“ unto. Upon this Proposition, they Resolved,  
“ that in that case of extreme danger, and of his Ma-  
“ jesty’s refusal, the Ordinance agreed on by both  
“ Houses for the Militia did oblige the people, and  
“ ought to be obeyed, by the Fundamental Laws of  
“ the Kingdom; and that such persons as should be  
“ Nominated Deputy Lieutenants, and approved  
“ of by both Houses, should receive the commands  
“ of both Houses, to take upon them to execute  
“ their Offices.” All which Resolutions were or-  
dered, the same night, to be printed and published.  
So that, when the King’s Message from *Huntington*  
was read the next morning, and seemed to be against  
their Votes of the day before, they concluded,  
“ that

“ that it could not be sent from the King, but that  
 “ it had been inserted in blanks left in the Town for  
 “ such purposes;” and immediately made a Com-  
 mittee, “ to find out by whom that Message was  
 “ framed.” But when they remembered, that they  
 had Voted as much a week before, and had examined  
 the Gentlemen who brought it, and had received it  
 from the King’s own hand, they proceeded no fur-  
 ther in that inquisition; but satisfied themselves with  
 a new Vote, “ that those Persons, who advised his  
 “ Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament,  
 “ and those that advised him to that Message, were  
 “ Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom; and justly  
 “ to be suspected to be favorers of the Rebellion  
 “ in *Ireland*.” And for the matter itself they resolved  
 to insist upon their former Votes; and withal de-  
 clared, “ that when the Lords and Commons in  
 “ Parliament, which is the supreme Court of Judi-  
 “ cature in the Kingdom, should declare what the  
 “ Law of the Land is, to have that not only ques-  
 “ tioned, and controverted, but Contradicted, and  
 “ a Command that it should Not be obeyed, was a  
 “ breach of the Privilege of Parliament.”

And this likewise they caused to be speedily  
 printed; lest the King should be able to persuade  
 the Subjects, that an Order of theirs, without His  
 consent, was no Law to compel their obedience.  
 And from this last Resolution, by which the Law  
 of the Land, and consequently the liberty of the  
 Subject, was resolved into a Vote of the two Hou-  
 ses, which passed without any dispute or hesitation,  
 all Sober men discerned the fatal period of both, and



**B O O K** saw a Foundation laid for all the Anarchy and Confusion, that hath followed.

IV.

Their Order  
concerning  
Hull.

It was now known, that the King was gone to *York*, which made them apprehend their Principality of *Hull* might be in danger; and therefore they immediately Resolve, "that no Forces whatsoever shall be admitted into that Town, without the immediate consent of both Houses:" which Order was sent thither by an express. And having prepared the People to be ready for the Militia, by publishing "that, in case of Extreme danger, they were to obey that Ordinance; they were, in the next place, to find the danger to be Extreme;" and, to that purpose, they produced Letters without any name, pretended to be written from *Amsterdam*, signifying "that they had intelligence there, that there was an Army ready in *Denmark* to be transported into *England*, and was to be landed at *Hull*; which, they said, had been confirmed to them, by a person of reputation, from *New-Market*, who confirmed the Intelligence of *Denmark*; and added, that there were likewise Forces ready in *France* to be landed at *Hull*."

Of this, how gross and ridiculous soever it appeared to wise men, they made a double use (besides the general impression in the People) the one to color and countenance their Orders to their Governor there; the other, to make the King's residence in those parts suspected and grievous, as if he came thither only to bring in foreign forces upon them. With these Alarms of foreign forces, they mingled other Intelligence of the Papists in *England*, "that

“ they had a purpose of making an Infurrection;” and therefore they proceeded in preparing a Bill to secure the persons of those of the best quality, and greatest interest, and injoining the Oath of Supremacy to be taken with great rigor; and, amongst other stratagems they had to humble the Papists, I remember, upon an information that they used their Protestant Tenants worse in the raising their Rents, than they did those of their own Religion, there was an Order, “ that they should not raise the Rents of their Tenants, above the rates that the Protestant Landlords adjoining received from Their Tenants:” by virtue of which, in some places, they undertook to determine what Rents their Tenants should pay to them. But, in this zeal against the Papists, they could not endure that the King should have any share; and therefore, when they found, that his Majesty had published a Proclamation in his Journey towards *York*, “ commanding all the Judges, and Justices of Peace, and other Officers, to put in due execution all the Laws, and Statutes of the Kingdom, against Popish Recusants, without favor or connivance,” they presently sent for the Sheriffs of *London* to the House of Commons, and examined them, “ why seven Priests, who were in *Newgate*, and had been long Condemned, were not Executed?” the reason whereof they well knew; and when the Sheriffs said, “ that they had received a Reprieve for them under the King’s hand,” they published that with great care in their prints to take off the credit of the new Proclamation; and appointed their Messengers,

**B O O K** whom they were then sending to the King with a  
 IV. new Declaration, to move his Majesty, "that he  
 " would take off his Reprieve, and suffer those seven  
 " condemned Priests to be Executed, according to  
 " the Judgments they had received."

They proceeded now to provide all necessary means for the raising great sums of money, by the diligent collection of what was granted by former Acts, and by a New Bill for the raising four hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of the great debts of the Kingdom (by which they meant the remainder of the three hundred thousand pounds, they had bountifully given to their Brethren of *Scotland*) and the support of the War of *Ireland*: All which monies were to be received, and disposed as the two Houses should direct; of which though the King saw the danger, that might, and Did after ensue thereupon, yet he thought that probable inconvenience and mischief to be less, than that, which the scandal of denying any thing, upon which the recovery of *Ireland* seemed to depend. would inevitably bring upon him; and so ratified whatsoever they brought to him of that Kind.

They make  
 propositions  
 o

Amongst other Expedients for raising of money for the War of *Ireland*, about this time, they made certain Propositions to encourage men to be Adventurers in that Traffick. Thus: They concluded "that,  
 " in so general a Rebellion, very much land must  
 " Escheat to the Crown by the forfeiture of Treason,  
 " and that, out of such forfeitures, satisfaction might  
 " be given to those, who should disburse money  
 " towards the suppression of the Rebels; so many

“ Acres of Land to be allowed for so much money, B O O K  
 “ according to the value of the Lands in the several IV.  
 “ Provinces, which was specified in the Proposi-  
 “ tions;” which, having passed both Houses, were  
 presented to the King, who (it being about the be-  
 ginning of *February*, when the breach of their Pri-  
 vileges rung in all men’s ears) Answered, “ that as  
 “ he had offered, and was still ready to venture,  
 “ his own Person for the recovery of that Kingdom,  
 “ if his Parliament should advise him thereunto, so  
 “ he would not deny to contribute any other assist-  
 “ ance he could to that Service, by parting with  
 “ any profit or advantage of his own there; and  
 “ therefore, relying upon the wisdom of his Parli- The King  
 “ ament, he did consent to every Proposition, now consents to  
 “ made to him, without taking time to consider, them.  
 “ and examine, whether that course might not  
 “ retard the reducing that Kingdom, by exaspera-  
 “ ting the Rebels, and rendering them desperate of  
 “ being received into Grace, if they should return  
 “ to their obedience. And, he said, he would be  
 “ ready to give his Royal assent to such Bills, as  
 “ should be tendered to him by his Parliament for  
 “ the confirmation of those Propositions.”

Which Answer, together with their Propositions,  
 they caused forthwith to be Printed; made their  
 Committees, in all places, to solicit Subscriptions,  
 and to receive the monies, the Principal and most  
 Active person Subscribing first, for the example of  
 others; and delayed the framing, and presenting the  
 Bill to the King, till they had received great sums  
 of money, and procured very many persons of all



E O O K

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conditions to Subscribe, many coming in out of pure covetousness to raise great fortunes; five hundred Acres of Land being assigned for one hundred pound in some Counties, and not much under that proportion in others: some out of pure fear, and to win credit with the Powerful Party, which made this new project a measure of men's affections, and a trial how far they might be trusted, and relied on.

Then they sent those Propositions digested into a Bill to the King, with such Clauses of power to them, and diminution of his own, that, upon the matter, he put the making a Peace with the Rebels there out of his power, though upon the most advantageous terms; which he was likewise necessitated to pass

The King  
passes a Bill  
to that pur-  
pose.

But notwithstanding all these preparations on This side the Sea, the relief, and provision was very slowly supplied to the Other side; where the Rebels still increased in strength, and, by the same of these Propositions, enlarged their power, very many Persons of Honor, and fortune, who till then had sat still, and either were, or seemed to be averse to the Rebellion, joining with them, as being desperate, and conceiving the utter suppressing their Religion, and the very extirpation of their Nation, to be decreed against them. And without doubt, the great Reformers here were willing enough to drive them to any extremity, both out of revenge and contempt, as a people easy to be rooted out, and that the War might be kept up still; since they feared an Union in that Kingdom might much prejudice their designs in This, both as it might supply

the King with power, and take away much of Theirs ; B O O K  
 whereas Now they had opportunity , with reference 1V.  
 to *Ireland* , to raise both men and money , which  
 they might be able to employ upon more pressing  
 occasions , as they will be found afterwards to have  
 done. Neither was it out of their expectation and  
 view , that , by the King's consenting to that severe  
 Decree , he might very probably discourage his Ca-  
 tholic Subjects , in his other Dominions , from any  
 extraordinary Acts of duty , and affection : at least ,  
 that it would render him less considered by most  
 Catholic Princes. And they knew well what use  
 to make of any diminution of his interest , or repu-  
 tation. These matters thus settled , for the ease of  
 the two Houses , who were now like to have much  
 to do , they appointed the whole business of *Ireland*  
 to be managed by Commission under the great Seal  
 of *England* , by four Lords and eight Commoners ,  
 whom they recommended to the King . and who  
 were always to receive Instructions from Them-  
 selves. And in this state , and disposition , were the  
 affairs of *Ireland* , when the King went to *York* ,  
 where let us now resort to him.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K V.

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Isa. III. 12.

*As for my People. Children are their Oppressors, and Women rule over them: O my People, they which lead thee, cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths.*

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B O O K  
V. **A**s soon as the King came to York, which was about the end of the Year 1641, and found his Reception there to be equal to his expectation, the Gentry, and Men of Ability of that great and Populous County (some very few excepted) expressing great alacrity for his Majesty's being with them, and no less sense of the insolent proceedings of the Parliament; thereupon, he resolved to treat with the two Houses in an other manner than he had done, and to let them clearly know, " That  
" as he would deny them nothing that was fit for  
" Them to ask, so he would yield to nothing that  
" was unreasonable for Him to grant; and that he  
" would have nothing extorted from him, that he  
" was not very well inclined to consent to." So, within few days after his coming thither, he sent

them a Declaration ( which he caused to be Printed, B O O K  
and, in the Frontispiece, recommended to the V.  
consideration of all his loving Subjects ) in Answer  
to that presented to him at *New-Market* some days  
before, He told them :

“ That, though that Declaration, presented to  
“ him at *New-Market* from both Houses of Parlia- His Majes-  
“ ment, was of so strange a Nature, in respect of ty’s Decla-  
“ what he expected ( after so many Acts of Grace ration from  
“ and Favor to his People ) and some expressions York,  
“ in it so different from the usual Language to Prin- Mar. 9.  
“ ces, that he might well take a very long time to 1641.  
“ consider it; yet the clearness and uprightness of  
“ his Conscience to God, and love to his Subjects,  
“ had supplied him with a speedy Answer; and his  
“ unalterable affection to his People prevailed with  
“ him to suppress that passion, which might well  
“ enough become him upon such invitation. He  
“ said, he had reconsidered his Answer of the first  
“ of that Month at *Theobald’s*, which was urged to  
“ have given just cause of sorrow to his Subjects;  
“ but, he said, whoever looked over that Message  
“ ( which was in effect to tell him, that if he would  
“ not join with them in an Act, which he conceived  
“ might prove prejudicial and dangerous to him,  
“ and the whole Kingdom, they would make a Law  
“ without him, and impose it upon his People )  
“ would not think that sudden Answer could be  
“ excepted to. He said, he had little encouragement  
“ to replies of that Nature, when he was told of  
“ how little value his words were like to be with  
“ them, though they came accompanied with all



BOOK V. “ the Actions of Love, and Justice (where there  
 “ was room for Actions to accompany them) yet  
 “ he could not but disavow the having any such  
 “ evil Counsel, or Counsellors about him, to his  
 “ knowledge, as were mentioned by them; and, if  
 “ any such should be discovered, he would leave  
 “ them to the censure, and judgment of his Parlia-  
 “ ment. In the mean time he could wish, that his  
 “ own immediate Actions, which he did avow, and  
 “ his own Honor might not be so roughly censured  
 “ and wounded, under that common style of evil  
 “ Counsellors. For his faithful and Zealous Affection  
 “ to the true Protestant profession, and his Reso-  
 “ lution to concur with his Parliament in any possible  
 “ course for the propagation of It, and the suppres-  
 “ sion of Popery. He said he could say no more than  
 “ he had already expressed in his Declaration to all  
 “ his loving Subjects, published in *January* last, by  
 “ the advice of his Privy-Council; in which he  
 “ endeavoured to make as lively a Confession of  
 “ himself in that point as he was able, being most  
 “ assured, that the constant practice of his Life had  
 “ been answerable thereunto: And therefore, he  
 “ did rather expect a Testimony, and acknow-  
 “ ledgment of such his Zeal and Piety, than those  
 “ expressions he met with in that Declaration of  
 “ any design of altering Religion in this Kingdom.  
 “ And he said, he did, out of the innocency of his  
 “ Soul, wish that the judgments of Heaven might  
 “ be manifested upon those, who have, or had any  
 “ such design.

“ As for the *Scots* Troubles, He told Them, he

“ had thought, that those unhappy differences had  
“ been wrapped up in perpetual silence by the Act  
“ of Oblivion; which, being solemnly passed in the  
“ Parliaments of both Kingdoms, stopped his own  
“ Mouth from any other Reply, than to shew his  
“ great dislike for reviving the Memory thereof.  
“ He said, if the Rebellion in *Ireland*. so odious  
“ to all Christians, seemed to have been framed,  
“ and maintained in *England*, or to have any Coun-  
“ tenance from hence, he conjured both his Houses  
“ of Parliament. and all his loving Subjects whatso-  
“ ever, to use all possible means to discover, and  
“ find such out, that he might join in the most  
“ exemplary Vengeance upon them, that could be  
“ imagined. But, he told them, he must think  
“ himself highly, and causelessly injured in his Re-  
“ putation, if any Declaration, Action, or Expres-  
“ sion of the Irish Rebels; any Letters from the  
“ Count *Rozetti* to the Papists, for Fasting and  
“ Praying; or from *Tristram Whetcomb*, of strange  
“ Speeches uttered in *Ireland*, should beget any  
“ Jealousy, or Misapprehension in his Subjects of  
“ his Justice, Piety, and Affection: it being evident  
“ to all understandings, that those mischievous and  
“ wicked Rebels, are not so capable of great advan-  
“ tage, as by having their false discourses so far  
“ believed, as to raise Fears and Jealousies to the  
“ distraction of this Kingdom; the only way to  
“ their Security. He said, he could not express a  
“ deeper sense of the sufferings of his poor Protestant  
“ Subjects in that Kingdom, than he had done in  
“ his often Messages to both Houses; by which he

BOOK " had offered , and was still ready to venture his  
v. " Royal Person for their redemption, well knowing  
" that as he was , in his own Interests , more con-  
" cerned in them ; so he was to make a strict Ac-  
" count to Almighty God for any neglect of his  
" Duty , or their Preservation.

" For the manifold Attempts to provoke his late  
" Army , and the Army of the Scots , and to raise a  
" Faction in the City of *London* , and other parts of  
" the Kingdom , if it were said as relating to Him ,  
" he could not without great Indignation , suffer  
" himself to be reproached to have intended the least  
" force , or threatening to his Parliament ; as the being  
" Privy to the bringing up the Army would imply.  
" Whereas . he called God to Witness . he never  
" had any such thought , nor knew of any such Reso-  
" lution concerning his late Army . For the Petition  
" showed to him by Captain *Leg* , he said , he well  
" remembered the same , and the occasion of that  
" Conference . Captain *Leg* being lately come out  
" of the North , and repairing to him at *White-*  
" *Hall* , his Majesty asked him of the state of his  
" Army ; and , after some relation of it , he told his  
" Majesty , that the Commanders and Officers of  
" the Army , had a mind to Petition the Parliament ,  
" as others of his People had done , and showed him  
" the Copy of a Petition ; which he read , and finding  
" it to be very humble , desiring the Parliament might  
" receive no interruption in the Reformation of  
" Church , and State , to the Model of Queen *Eliza-*  
" *beth's* days , his Majesty told him , that he saw no  
" harm in it ; whereupon Captain *Leg* replied , that

“ he believed all the Officers of the Army would like  
 “ it, only, he thought, Sir *Jacob Astley* would be  
 “ unwilling to sign it, out of fear that it would dis-  
 “ please Him. His Majesty then read the Petition  
 “ over again, and observing nothing in Matter  
 “ or Form he conceived could possibly give just  
 “ cause of Offence, he delivered it to him again,  
 “ bidding him give it to Sir *Jacob Astley*, for whose  
 “ satisfaction he writ C. R. upon it, to testify his  
 “ Approbation; and he wished that the Petition  
 “ might be seen and published, and then he believed  
 “ it would appear no dangerous one, nor a just  
 “ ground for the least Jealousy, or Misapprehension.

“ For Mr. *Jermyn*, he said, it was well known  
 “ that he was gone from *White-Hall*, before he  
 “ received the desire of both Houses for the restraint  
 “ of his Servants; neither returned he thither, or  
 “ passed over by any Warrant granted by him after  
 “ that time. For the breach of Privilege in the Accu-  
 “ sation of the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members  
 “ of the House of Commons, he told them, he thought,  
 “ he had given so ample satisfaction in his several Mes-  
 “ sages to that purpose, that it should have been no  
 “ more pressed against him; being confident, if the  
 “ breach of Privilege had been greater than ever had  
 “ been before offered, his acknowledgment and  
 “ retraction had been greater than ever King had  
 “ given: besides the not Examining how many of  
 “ His Privileges had been invaded in defence and  
 “ vindication of the other. And therefore, he hoped  
 “ his true, and earnest protestation in his Answer to  
 “ their Order concerning the Militia, would so far



B O O K “ have satisfied them of his Intentions then , that  
 V. “ they would no more have entertained any Imagi-  
 “ nation of any other design, than he there expressed.  
 “ But why the lifting so many Officers, and enter-  
 “ taining them at *White-Hall*. should be miscon-  
 “ strued, he said, he much marvelled, when it was  
 “ notoriously known the Tumults at *Westminster*  
 “ were so great, and their demeanour so scandalous  
 “ and seditious, that he had good cause to suppose  
 “ his own Person, and those of his Wife and  
 “ Children . to be in apparent danger; and therefore  
 “ he had great reason to appoint a Guard about him,  
 “ and to accept the dutiful tender of the Services of  
 “ any of his loving Subjects , which was all he did  
 “ to the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court.

“ For the Lord *Digby*, he assured them in the Word  
 “ of a King, that he had his Warrant to pass the  
 “ Seas, and left his Court, before ever he heard of  
 “ the Vote of the House of Commons , or had any  
 “ cause to imagine that his absence would have been  
 “ excepted against. What their Advertisements were  
 “ from *Rome, Venice, Paris*, and other parts, or  
 “ what the Pope’s Nuntio solicits the Kings of  
 “ *France* and *Spain* to do; or from what Persons  
 “ such informations came to them, or how the  
 “ Credit and Reputation of such Persons had been  
 “ sifted and examined , he said, he knew not; but  
 “ was confident no Sober Honest Man in his King-  
 “ doms could believe, that he was so desperate, or  
 “ so senseless, to entertain such designs, as would  
 “ not only bury this his Kingdom in sudden distrac-  
 “ tion and ruin, but his Own Name and Posterity in

“ perpetual Scorn, and Infamy. And therefore, he  
 “ said, he could have wished in matters of so high and  
 “ tender a Nature, wherewith the minds of his good  
 “ Subjects must be startled, all the expressions had  
 “ been so plain and easy, that nothing might stick  
 “ with them that reflected upon his Majesty; since  
 “ they thought fit to publish it at all.

“ And having now dealt thus plainly and freely  
 “ with them, by way of Answer to the particular  
 “ grounds of their Fears, he said, he hoped, upon  
 “ a due consideration and weighing of both together,  
 “ they would not find the grounds to be of that  
 “ moment to beget, or longer to continue, a mis-  
 “ understanding between them; or force them to  
 “ apply themselves to the use of any other power,  
 “ than what the Law had given: the which he  
 “ always intended should be the measure of his own  
 “ Power, and expected it should be the rule of his  
 “ Subjects Obedience.

“ Concerning his own Fears and Jealousies, as he  
 “ had no Intention of accusing them, so he said, he  
 “ was sure no words spoken by him on the sudden  
 “ at *Theobald's* would bear that Interpretation. He  
 “ had said, for his Residence near them, he wished  
 “ it might be so safe and honorable, that he had no  
 “ cause to absent himself from *White-Hall*; and how  
 “ That could be a breach of Privilege of Parliament  
 “ he could not understand. He said, he had ex-  
 “ plained his meaning in his Answer at *New-Market*, at  
 “ the presentation of that Declaration, concerning  
 “ the printed seditious Pamphlets, and Sermons, and  
 “ the great Tumults at *Westminster*: And he said he

200 R “ must appeal to them, and all the world, whether  
 V. “ he might not justly suppose himself in danger of  
 “ either. And if he were now at *White-Hall*, he  
 “ asked them, what security he had, that the like  
 “ should not be Again? especially if any delinquents  
 “ of that Nature had been apprehended by the  
 “ Ministers of Justice, and had been rescued by the  
 “ people, and so as yet had escaped Unpunished.  
 “ He told them, if they had not yet been informed  
 “ of the seditious words used in, and the circum-  
 “ stances of those Tumults, and would appoint some  
 “ way for the examination of them, he would require  
 “ some of his learned Counsel to attend with such  
 “ Evidence as might satisfy them; and till that were  
 “ done, or some other course should be taken for his  
 “ security, he said, they could not with reason  
 “ wonder, that he intended not to be, where he  
 “ most desired to be.

“ He asked them, whether there could Yet want  
 “ evidence of his hearty and importunate desire to  
 “ join with his Parliament, and all his faithful  
 “ Subjects, in defence of the Religion, and public  
 “ good of the Kingdom? Whether he had given  
 “ them no other earnest but Words, to secure them  
 “ of those desires? He told them the very Remon-  
 “ strance of the House of Commons (published in  
 “ *November* last) of the State of the Kingdom allowed  
 “ him a more Real Testimony of his good Affections,  
 “ than Words; that Remonstrance valued his Acts  
 “ of Grace and Justice at so high a rate, that it  
 “ declared the Kingdom to be Then a Gainer,  
 “ though it had charged itself by Bills of Subsidies  
 and

“ and Poll-money, with the levy of six hundred  
 “ thousand pounds, besides the contracting a debt  
 “ of two hundred and twenty thousand pounds more  
 “ to his Subjects of *Scotland*. He asked them, whether  
 “ the Bills for the Triennial Parliament, for relin-  
 “ quishing his Title of imposing upon Merchandize,  
 “ and power of pressing of Soldiers, for the taking  
 “ away the Star-Chamber, and High Commission-  
 “ Courts, for the regulating the Council-Table, were  
 “ but Words? whether the Bills for the Forests,  
 “ the Stannery - Courts, the Clerk of the Market,  
 “ and the taking away the Votes of Bishops out of  
 “ the Lords House, were but Words? Lastly, what  
 “ greater earnest of his Trust, and Reliance on his  
 “ Parliament could he give, than the Passing the  
 “ Bill for the continuance of this Present Parlia-  
 “ ment? The Length of which, he said, he hoped,  
 “ would never alter the Nature of Parliaments, and  
 “ the Constitution of this Kingdom; or invite his  
 “ Subjects so much to abuse his Confidence, as to  
 “ esteem any thing fit for this Parliament to do,  
 “ which were not fit, if it were in his power to Dis-  
 “ solve it to Morrow. And after all these, and many  
 “ other Acts of Grace on his part, that he might be  
 “ sure of a perfect reconciliation between him and all  
 “ his Subjects, he had offered, and was still ready to  
 “ grant, a free, and general Pardon, as ample as  
 “ themselves should think fit. Now if those were not  
 “ real Expressions of the Affections of his Soul for  
 “ the Public Good of this Kingdom, he said, he  
 “ must confess that he wanted skill to manifest them.  
 “ To conclude, although he thought his Answer

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“ already full to that point concerning his return to  
 “ *London*, he told them, that he was willing to  
 “ declare, that he looked upon it as a matter of so  
 “ great weight, as with reference to the Affairs of  
 “ this Kingdom, and to his own inclinations and  
 “ desires, that if all he could Say, or Do, could  
 “ raise a mutual Confidence (the only way, with  
 “ God’s blessing, to make them all happy) and, by  
 “ their encouragement, the Laws of the Land, and  
 “ the Government of the City of *London*, might  
 “ recover some life for his Security; he would over-  
 “ take their desires, and be as soon with them, as  
 “ they could wish. And in the mean time, he  
 “ would be sure that neither the business of *Ireland*,  
 “ nor any other advantage for This Kingdom  
 “ should suffer through His Default, or by His  
 “ Absence; he being so far from repenting the  
 “ Acts of his Justice and Grace, which he had  
 “ already performed to his People, that, he said,  
 “ he should, with the same alacrity, be still ready  
 “ to add such New ones, as might best advance the  
 “ Peace, Honor, and Prosperity of this Nation.”

They who now read this Declaration, and remember only the insolent and undutiful Expressions in that Declaration, to which this was an Answer, and the more insolent and seditious Actions which preceded, accompanied, and attended it, may think, that the style was not answerable to the Provocation, nor Princely enough for such a Contest; and may believe, that if his Majesty had then expressed himself with more Indignation for what he had suffered, and more Resolution, “ that he would No More

“ endure those Sufferings,” they who were not yet grown to the hardness of Avowing the contempt of the King ( and most of them having designs to be great With, and by Him, whom they provoked ) would sooner have been checked, and recovered their Loyalty and Obedience. But they again who consider and remember that juncture of time, the incredible disadvantage his Majesty suffered by the misunderstanding of his going to the House of Commons, and by the Popular mistake of Privilege of Parliament, and consequently of the breach of those Privileges: And, on the contrary, the great height and reputation the Factious Party had arrived to, the stratagems they used, and the insuflions they made into the People, “ of the King’s disinclinations “ to the Laws of the Land;” and especially, “ that “ he had consented to all those excellent Laws made “ this Parliament ( of which the People were possessed ) very unwillingly, and meant to avoid them: “ That the Queen had an irreconcilable Hatred to “ the Religion professed, and to the whole Nation, “ and that her Power was unquestionable: That “ there was a design to send the Prince beyond the “ Seas, and marry him to some Papist:” Above all ( which the principal of them, with wonderful Confidence, in all places avowed to be true ) “ that the “ Rebellion in *Ireland* was fomented, and countenanced at least, by the Queen, that good terms “ might be got for the Catholics in *England*:” I say, whoever remembers all this, and, that though it might be presumed, that the exorbitancy of the Parliament might be very offensive to some Sober

B O O K and discerning Men, yet his Majesty had no reason  
 V. to presume of their eminent and vehement Zeal on his behalf, since he saw all those (some few only excepted) from whom he might challenge the duty, and faith of Servants *usque ad aras*, and for whose sake he had undergone many difficulties either totally aliened from his Service; and engaged against Him, or, like Men in a Trance, unapplicable to it: He will, I say, conclude that it concerned his Majesty, by all gentleness and condescension, to undeceive, and recover Men to their sobriety and understanding, before he could hope to make them apprehensive of their own duty, or the reverence that was due to him; and therefore, that he was to descend to all possible Arts, and Means to that purpose, it being very evident, that Men would no sooner discern his Princely Justice and Clemency, than they must be sensible of the Indignities which were offered to him; and incensed against those who were the Authors of them.

And the truth is (which I speak knowingly) at that time, the King's Resolution was to Shelter himself wholly under the Law; to grant any thing, that by the Law he was obliged to grant; and to deny, what by the Law was in his own power, and which he found inconvenient to consent to, and to oppose and punish any extravagant attempt by the force and power of the Law, presuming that the King and the Law together would have been strong enough for any encounter that could happen; and that the Law was so sensible a thing, that the People would easily perceive who endeavoured, to Pre-

serve, and who to Suppress it, and dispose themselves accordingly. B O O K  
v.

The day before this Answer of his Majesty came to the Members then Sitting at *Westminster*, though they knew they should speedily receive it, lest somewhat in it might Answer, and so prevent some other scandals they had a mind to lay to his Majesty's Charge, they sent a Petition to him, in the Name of the Lords and Commons, upon occasion of the short cursory Speech he made to their Committee (which is before mentioned) at the delivery of their Declaration at *New-Market*, in which they told him.

“ That the Lords and Commons in Parliament  
 “ could not conceive, that that Declaration, which  
 “ he received from them at *New-Market*, was such as  
 “ did deserve that censure his Majesty was pleased  
 “ to lay upon them in that Speech, which his  
 “ Majesty made to their Committee; their address  
 “ therein, being accompanied with plainness, hu-  
 “ mility, and faithfulness, they thought more proper  
 “ for the removing the distraction of the Kingdom,  
 “ than if they had then proceeded according to his  
 “ Message of the twentieth of *January*, by which  
 “ he was pleased to desire, that they would declare,  
 “ what they intended to do for his Majesty, and  
 “ what they expected to be done for Themselves;  
 “ in both which, they said, they had been very  
 “ much hindered by his Majesty's denial to secure  
 “ them and the whole Kingdom, by disposing the  
 “ Militia as they had divers times most Humbly  
 “ Petitioned. And yet, they said, they had not been  
 “ altogether negligent of either, having lately made

The Petition  
 of the Lords  
 and Com-  
 mons pre-  
 sented to his  
 Majesty at  
 York. Mar.  
 26. 1642.



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“ good proceedings in preparing a Book of Rates,  
“ to be passed in a Bill of Tonnage and Poundage,  
“ and likewise the most material heads of those  
“ humble desires, which they intended to make to  
“ his Majesty for the good and contentment of his  
“ Majesty and his People; but none of those could  
“ be perfected before the Kingdom be put in safety,  
“ by settling the Militia: And until his Majesty  
“ should be pleased to concur with his Parliament  
“ in those necessary things, they held it impossible  
“ for his Majesty to give the world, or his People,  
“ such satisfaction concerning the Fears and Jealousies,  
“ which they had expressed, as they hoped  
“ his Majesty had already received touching that  
“ exception, which he was pleased to take to Mr.  
“ Pym’s Speech. As for his Majesty’s Fears and  
“ Doubts, the ground whereof was from seditious  
“ Pamphlets and Sermons, they said, they should  
“ be as careful to endeavour the removal of them,  
“ as soon as they should understand what Pamphlets  
“ and Sermons were by his Majesty intended, as  
“ they had been to prevent all dangerous Tumults.  
“ And if any extraordinary Concourse of people  
“ out of the City to *Westminster* had the face and  
“ show of Tumult and Danger, in his Majesty’s  
“ apprehension, it would appear to be caused by  
“ his Majesty’s denial of such a Guard to his Parliament,  
“ as they might have cause to Confide in;  
“ and by taking into *White-Hall* such a Guard for  
“ Himself, as gave just cause of Jealousy to the  
“ Parliament, and of Terror and Offence to his  
“ People. They told him, they sought nothing but

“ his Majesty’s Honor, and the Peace and Prosperity  
 “ of his Kingdoms; and that they were heartily sorry,  
 “ they had such plentiful matter for an Answer to  
 “ that Question, whether his Majesty had violated  
 “ their Laws? They besought his Majesty to re-  
 “ member; that the Government of this Kingdom,  
 “ as it was, in a great part, managed by his Ministers  
 “ before the beginning of this Parliament, consisted  
 “ of many continued and multiplied Acts of viola-  
 “ tion of Laws; the wounds whereof were scarcely  
 “ healed, when the Extremity of all those violations  
 “ was far exceeded by the late Strange, and unheard  
 “ of breach of their Laws in the Accusation of the  
 “ Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the  
 “ Commons House, and in the proceedings there-  
 “ upon; for which they had yet received no full  
 “ satisfaction.

“ To his Majesty’s next Question, whether he  
 “ had denied any Bill for the ease and security of  
 “ his Subjects? They wished they could stop in  
 “ the midst of their Answer; that with much thank-  
 “ fulness they acknowledged, that his Majesty had  
 “ passed many good Bills full of contentment and  
 “ advantage to his People: but Truth and Necessity  
 “ inforced them to add this, that even in, or about  
 “ the time of passing those Bills, some design or  
 “ other had been on foot, which, if it had taken  
 “ effect, would not only have deprived them of the  
 “ fruit of those Bills, but have reduced them to a  
 “ worse condition of confusion, than that wherein  
 “ the Parliament found them.

“ And if his Majesty had asked them the third

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“ Question intimated in that Speech, what They  
 “ had done for Him? they told him, their Answer  
 “ would have been much more easy; That they had  
 “ paid two Armies with which the Kingdom was  
 “ burdened the last year, and had undergone the  
 “ Charge of the War in *Ireland* at this time, when  
 “ through many other excessive Charges and pres-  
 “ sures, his Subjects had been exhausted, and the  
 “ stock of the Kingdom very much diminished;  
 “ which great mischiefs, and the charges thereupon  
 “ ensuing, had been occasioned by the evil Counsels  
 “ so powerful with his Majesty, which had, and  
 “ would cost this Kingdom more than two Millions;  
 “ all which, in justice, ought to have been born by  
 “ his Majesty.

“ As for that free and general pardon his Majesty  
 “ had been pleased to offer, they said, it could be  
 “ no security to their Fears and Jealousies, for  
 “ which his Majesty seemed to propound it; because  
 “ they arose not from any Guilt of their own  
 “ Actions, but from the evil designs, and attempts  
 “ of others.

“ To that their Humble Answer to that Speech,  
 “ they desired to add an Information, which they  
 “ had lately received from the Deputy Governor  
 “ of the Merchant-Adventurers at *Rotterdam* in  
 “ *Holland*, that an unknown person, appertaining  
 “ to the Lord *Digby*, did lately solicit one *James*  
 “ *Henly* a Mariner, to go to *Elfenore*, and to take  
 “ charge of a Ship in the Fleet of the King of *Den-*  
 “ *mark*, there prepared; which he should conduct  
 “ to *Hull*. In which Fleet likewise, he said, a great

“ Army was to be transported; and although they  
 “ were not apt to give credit to Informations  
 “ of that Nature, yet they could not altogether  
 “ think it fit to be neglected; but that it might  
 “ justly add somewhat to the weight of their Fears  
 “ and Jealousies, considering with what circum-  
 “ stances it was accompanied; with the Lord *Digby*’s  
 “ preceding expressions in his Letter to her Majesty,  
 “ and Sir *Lewis Dives*; and his Majesty’s succeeding  
 “ course of withdrawing himself North-ward from  
 “ his Parliament, in a manner very suitable and  
 “ correspondent to that evil Counsel; which, they  
 “ doubted, would make much deeper impression in  
 “ the generality of his People: and therefore, they  
 “ most humbly advised, and besought his Majesty,  
 “ for the procuring and settling the confidence of  
 “ his Parliament and all his Subjects, and for the  
 “ other important reasons concerning the recovery  
 “ of *Ireland*, and securing This Kingdom, which  
 “ had been formerly presented to him, he would  
 “ be graciously pleased, with all convenient speed,  
 “ to return to those Ports, and to close with the  
 “ Counsel and desire of his Parliament; where he  
 “ should find their dutiful affections and endeavours  
 “ ready to attend his Majesty with such entertain-  
 “ ment, as should not only give him just cause of  
 “ security in their faithfulness, but other manifold  
 “ evidences of their earnest intentions, and en-  
 “ deavours to advance his Majesty’s Service, Honor,  
 “ and Contentment; and to establish it upon the sure  
 “ Foundation of the Peace, and Prosperity of all  
 “ his Kingdoms.”



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v.

The King's  
Answer.

This, which They called a Petition, being presented to the King, his Majesty immediately returned, by the same Messengers, his Answer in these words:

“ If you would have had the patience to have  
“ expected our Answer to your last Declaration,  
“ (which, considering the nature of it, hath not  
“ been long in coming) We believe, you would  
“ have saved yourselves the labor of saying much of  
“ this Message. And We could wish, that our Pri-  
“ vileges on all parts were so stated, that this way of  
“ Correspondency might be preserved with that  
“ freedom, which hath been used of old. For We  
“ must tell you, that if you, may ask Any thing of  
“ us by Message or Petition, and in what Language  
“ (how Unusual soever) you think fit, and we must  
“ neither Deny the thing you ask, nor give reason  
“ why we cannot Grant it, without being taxed of  
“ breaking your Privileges, or being Counsell'd by  
“ those, who are Enemies to the Peace of the King-  
“ dom, and Favorers of the Irish Rebellion (for we  
“ have seen your printed Votes upon our Message  
“ from *Huntington*) you will reduce all our Answers  
“ hereafter into a very little room; in plain English,  
“ it is to take away the freedom of our Vote; which,  
“ were We but a Subject, were high Injustice, but  
“ being your King, we leave all the world to judge  
“ What it is.

“ Is this the way to compose all misunderstand-  
“ ings? We thought, we showed you one, by our  
“ Message of the twentieth of *January*, if you have  
“ a better or readier, We shall willingly hearken to  
“ it, for hitherto you have showed us None. But

“ why the refusal to consent to your Order, which  
“ You call a Denial of the Militia, should be any  
“ interruption to it, we cannot understand. For the  
“ Militia, which we always thought necessary to  
“ be settled, we never denied the Thing (as we told  
“ you in our Answer of the 28th of *January*) to the  
“ Petition of the House of Commons, for we ac-  
“ cepted the Persons, except for Corporations; we  
“ only denied the Way. You ask it by way of Or-  
“ dinance, and with such a Preface, as we can  
“ neither with justice to our Honor, or Innocency  
“ consent to. You exclude Us from any power in  
“ the disposition or execution of it together with  
“ you, and for a time utterly Unlimited. We tell  
“ you, we would have the Thing done; allow the  
“ Persons, with that exception; desire a Bill, the  
“ only Good Old way of imposing on our Subjects:  
“ We are extremely unsatisfied what an Ordinance  
“ is, but well satisfied, that without Our Consent  
“ it is Nothing, nor Binding: and it is evident by  
“ the long time spent in this Argument, the necessity  
“ and danger was not so imminent, but a Bill might  
“ have been prepared; which if it shall Yet be done,  
“ with that due regard to Us, and care of our People,  
“ in the limitation of the power and other circum-  
“ stances, we shall recede from nothing we formerly  
“ expressed in that Answer to your Order; otherwise,  
“ we must declare to all the world, that we are not  
“ satisfied with, or shall ever allow our Subjects to  
“ be bound by, your printed Votes of the fifteenth or  
“ sixteenth of this Month; or that under pretence of  
“ Declaring what the Law of the Land is, you shall,

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“ without Us, make a New Law, which is plainly  
“ the case of the Militia: and what is this but to  
“ introduce an Arbitrary way of Government ?

“ Concerning *Pym's* Speech, you will have  
“ found, by what the Lord *Compton* and Mr. *Bayn-*  
“ *ton* brought from Us in Answer to that Message  
“ they brought to Us, that, as yet, we rest nothing  
“ satisfied in that particular.

“ As for the seditious Pamphlets and Sermons, We  
“ are both sorry and ashamed ( in so great variety,  
“ and in which our Rights, Honor and Authority,  
“ are so insolently slighted and vilified, and in which  
“ the dignity and freedom of Parliaments is so much  
“ invaded, and violated ) it should be asked of Us to  
“ Name any. The mentioning of the Protestation  
“ protested, the Apprentices Protestation, *To your*  
“ *Tents O Israel*, or any other, would be too great  
“ an excuse for the rest: If you think them not worth  
“ your Inquiry, We have done. But we think it  
“ most strange to be told, that our denial of a Guard  
“ ( which we yet never denied, but granted in another  
“ manner, and under a Command at that time most  
“ accustomed in the Kingdom ) or the denial of any  
“ thing else ( which is in our power legally to deny )  
“ which in our understanding, of which God hath  
“ surely given us some use, it not fit to be granted,  
“ should be any excuse for so dangerous a Concourse  
“ of People; which, not only in Our apprehension,  
“ but, We believe, in the interpretation of the Law  
“ itself, hath been always held most Tumultuous,  
“ and Seditious. And We must wonder, what, and  
“ whence come the Instructions and Informations,

“ that those People have , who can so easily think  
“ themselves obliged by the Protestation to Assemble  
“ in such a manner for the defence of Privileges,  
“ which cannot be so clearly known to any of them,  
“ and so negligently pass over the consideration, and  
“ defence of our Rights , so beneficial and necessary  
“ for themselves, and scarce unknown to any of them;  
“ which by their Oaths of Allegiance and Supre-  
“ macy , and even by the same Protestation , they  
“ are at least Equally obliged to defend. And what  
“ interruptions such kind of Assemblies may be to  
“ the freedom of future Parliaments (if not season-  
“ ably discountenanced and suppressed ) We must  
“ advise you to consider ; as likewise, whether both  
“ our Rights and Powers may not by such means be  
“ usurped. by hands not trusted by the Constitution  
“ of this Kingdom. For our Guard, We refer you  
“ to Our Answer to your Declaration.

“ By that Question of violating your Laws, by  
“ which We endeavoured to express our care , and  
“ resolution to observe them , We did not expect,  
“ you would have been invited to have looked back  
“ so many years , for which you have had so ample  
“ reparation ; neither looked we to have been re-  
“ proached with the Actions of our Ministers Then  
“ against the Laws , whilst we express so great Zeal  
“ for the Present Defence of them ; it being our re-  
“ solution , upon observation of the mischief which  
“ then grew by Arbitrary Power (though made  
“ plausible to us by the suggestions of Necessity and  
“ imminent Danger , and take you heed , You fall  
“ not into the same error, upon the same suggestions)



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“ hereafter to keep the Rule Ourself, and to Our  
 “ Power require the same from all others. But above  
 “ all, We must be most sensible of what you cast  
 “ upon us for requital of those good Bills, you cannot  
 “ deny. We have denied any such design; and as  
 “ God Almighty must judge in that point between  
 “ us, who knows our upright intentions at the  
 “ passing those Laws, so in the mean time we defy  
 “ the Devil to prove, that there was any design  
 “ ( with Our Knowledge, or Privity ) in or about  
 “ the time of passing those Bills, that, had it taken  
 “ effect, could have deprived Our Subjects of the  
 “ fruit of them. And therefore we demand full repara-  
 “ tion in this point, that we may be cleared in the  
 “ sight of all the world, and chiefly in the Eyes of  
 “ our loving Subjects, from so notorious and  
 “ false an imputation, as this is.

“ We are far from denying what you have done;  
 “ for We acknowledge the charge Our people hath  
 “ sustained in keeping the two Armies, and in relieving  
 “ *Ireland*; of which we are so sensible, that  
 “ in regard of those great burdens Our People hath  
 “ undergone, We have, and do patiently suffer  
 “ those extreme Personal Wants, as our Predecessors  
 “ have been seldom put to, rather than We would  
 “ press upon them; which we hope in time, will be  
 “ considered on your parts.

“ In our offer of a general pardon, our intent was  
 “ to compose and secure the general condition of our  
 “ Subjects, conceiving that, in these times of great  
 “ distractions, the good Laws of the Land have not  
 “ been enough observed; but it is a strange world,

“ when Princes proffered Favors are counted Re-  
 “ proaches ; yet if you like not this Our offer, We  
 “ have done.

“ Concerning any discourfes of Foreign Forces,  
 “ though We have given you a full Answer in Ours  
 “ to your laft Declaration ; yet We muft tell you,  
 “ we have neither fo ill an opinion of Our own merit,  
 “ or the Affections of our good Subjects, as to think  
 “ Ourfelf in need of any Foreign Forces to preferve  
 “ us from oppreffion ; and we fhall not need for any  
 “ other purpofe : but are confident, through God’s  
 “ providence, not to want the good wifhes and Af-  
 “ fiftance of the whole Kingdom, being refolved to  
 “ build upon that fure Foundation, the Law of the  
 “ Land ; and we take it very ill, that General dif-  
 “ courfes between an Unknown Perfon and a Ma-  
 “ riner, or inferences upon Letters, fhould be able  
 “ to prevail in matters fo Improbable in themfelves,  
 “ and Scandalous to Us, for which we cannot but  
 “ likewise afk reparation, not only for the vindica-  
 “ tion of our own Honor, but alfo thereby to settle  
 “ the minds of our Subjects, whofe fears and jealou-  
 “ fies would foon vanifh, were they not fed and  
 “ maintained by fuch falfe and malicious Rumors as  
 “ thefe.

“ For Our return to Our parliament, We have  
 “ given you a full Answer in Ours to your Declara-  
 “ tion ; and you ought to look on Us as not Gone,  
 “ but Driven, (we fay not By you, yet) From you.  
 “ And if it be not fo eafy for you to make Our refi-  
 “ dence in *London* fo fafe, as We could defire, We  
 “ are and will be contented, that Our Parliament

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“ be Adjourned to such a place , where we may be  
 “ fitly and safely with you. For though We are not  
 “ pleased to be at this distance, yet you are not to  
 “ expect Our presence , until you shall both secure  
 “ us concerning Our just Apprehensions of tumultu-  
 “ ary Insolences, and likewise give Us satisfaction  
 “ for those insupportable and insolent Scandals, that  
 “ are raised upon Us.

“ To Conclude, as We have or shall not refuse  
 “ any agreeable way to Justice or Honor, which  
 “ shall be offered to Us for the begetting a right  
 “ understanding between Us; so We are resolved  
 “ that no straits or necessities, to which We May  
 “ be driven, shall ever compel us to do that, which  
 “ the reason and understanding that God hath given  
 “ us , and Our Honor, and Interest, with which  
 “ God hath trusted us for the good of Our Posterity  
 “ and Kingdoms, shall render unpleasant and grie-  
 “ vous to Us. And we assure you, how meanly  
 “ soever You are pleased to value the discharge of  
 “ Our public Duty, We are so conscious to Our-  
 “ self of having done Our part since this Parliament,  
 “ that in whatsoever condition We now stand, We  
 “ are confident of the continued protection from  
 “ Almighty God, and the constant Gratitude, Obe-  
 “ dience, and Affection from Our People. And We  
 “ shall trust God with all.”

These quick Answers from the King gave them  
 very much trouble, and made it evident to them,  
 that he would no more be Swaggered into conces-  
 sions that he thought unreasonable, or persuaded to  
 them upon General promises, or an Implicit confi-  
 dence

dence in their Future modesty; but that he demanded reparation for the breach of his Privileges, and so fought with them with their own Weapons, troubled them much more; apprehending that, in a short time, the People might be persuaded to believe, that the King was in the right, and had not been well dealt with: and though some few, who thought themselves too far engaged to retire, were glad of the sharpness of these Paper-Skirmishes, which they believed made the wound still wider, and more incurable; yet the Major part, which had been induced to join with them out of Confidence that the King would yield, and that their boldness and importunity in Asking, would prevail with his Majesty to Consent, wished themselves fairly unentangled; and I have heard many of the fiercest Concurrers, and who have ever since kept them company, at that time profess, “that if any expedient might be found  
“to reconcile the present difference about the Militia, they would no more Adventure upon  
“Demands of the like Nature:” and the Earl of *Essex* himself was startled, and confessed to his Friends, “that he desired a more moderate proceeding should be in Parliament; and that the King,  
“who had Given so much, should Receive some  
“satisfaction.” But those of the Court, who thought their faults to their Master most unpardonable, could not endure that the youngest Courtier, should be the eldest Convert; and therefore, by repeating what the King and Queen had said of him Heretofore, and by fresh Intelligence, which they procured from *York* of what the King Then thought of him,



B O O K they persuaded him, "that his condition was too  
v. "desperate to recede:" and all men were persuaded,  
that this steady deportment of the King proceeded  
from some new evil Counsellors, who would be as  
soon Destroyed, as Discovered; and that Then they  
would so carry themselves, that the King should  
owe his Greatness, and his Glory (for they still said,  
"he should excel all his Predecessors in both") to  
Their formed Counsels and Activity, and not to  
the whispers of those who thought to do his busi-  
ness without them. And I am persuaded that even  
then, and I was at that time no stranger to the  
persons of most that governed, and a diligent ob-  
server of their carriage, they had rather a design of  
making themselves powerful with the King, and  
great at Court, than of lessening the power of the  
One, or reforming the discipline of the Other: but,  
no doubt, there were some Few in the number that  
looked further; yet by pretending That, kept up  
the Mettle of writing, and inclined them for their  
Honor to new Declarations.

The King found himself at some ease, and most  
Persons of Quality of that great County, and of the  
Counties adjacent, resorted to him, and many Per-  
sons of condition from *London*, and those parts, who  
had not the Courage to attend upon him at *White-  
Hall*; so that the Court appeared with some Lustre.  
And now he begun to think of executing some of  
those Resolutions, which he had made with the  
Queen before her departure; One of which was,  
and to be first done, the removing the Earls of *Essex*  
and *Holland* from their Offices in the Court, the

One of Chamberlain, the Other of Groom of the Stole, which hath the reputation and benefit of being first Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber. Indeed no man could speak in the justification of either of them, yet no man thought them Equally culpable. The Earl of *Holland* was a Person merely of the King's, and his Father's Creation; raised from the Condition of a private Gentleman, a younger Brother of an Extraction that lay under a great blemish, and without any Fortune, to a great height by their mere favor, and bounty. And they had not only adorned him with Titles, Honors, and Offices, but enabled him to support those in the highest Lustre, and with the largest Expence: and this King had drawn many inconveniences, and great disadvantages, upon himself and his Service, by his preferring him to some Trusts, which Others did not only think Themselves, but Really were, worthier of; but especially by indulging him so far in the rigorous Execution of his Office of Chief-Justice in Eyre, in which he brought more prejudice upon the Court, and more discontent upon the King, from the most considerable part of the Nobility and Gentry in *England*, than proceeded from any one Action, that had its rise from the King's Will and Pleasure, though it was not without some Warrant from Law; but having not been practised for some hundreds of Years, was looked upon as a terrible Innovation and Exaction upon Persons, who knew not that they were in any fault; nor was any imputed to them, but the Original Sin of their Fore-fathers, even for which they were obliged to pay great

B O O K Penalties and Ransoms. That such a Servant should  
v. suffer his Zeal to lessen and decay towards such a Master, and that he should keep a Title to lodge in his Bed Chamber, from whose Court he had, upon the matter withdrawn himself, and adhered to, and assisted those, who affronted and contemned his Majesty so notoriously. would admit of no manner of Interposition and Excuse.

Less was to be objected against the Earl of *Essex*, who, as he had been, all his Life, without obligations from the Court, and believed he had undergone oppression there, so he was, in all respects, the same Man he had always professed himself to be, when the King put him into that Office; and in receiving of which, many men believed, that He rather gratified the King, than that his Majesty had obliged Him in conferring it; and it had been, no doubt, the chief reason of putting the Staff in his hand, because in that Conjunction no other Man, who would in any degree have appeared worthy of it, had the Courage to receive it. However having taken the Charge upon him, he ought, no doubt, to have taken all his Master's concerns more to Heart, than he had done; and he can never be excused for staying in *White-Hall*, when the King was with that Outrage driven from thence, and for chusing to behold the triumph of the Members return to *Westminster*, rather than to attend his Majesty's Person in so great perplexity to *Hampton-Court*; which had been his duty to have done, and for failing wherein no other excuse can be made, but that, after he had taken so full Resolution to

have waited upon his Majesty thither, that he had dressed himself in his Travelling habit, he was diverted from it by the Earl of *Holland*, who ought to have accompanied him in the Service, and by his averment, "that if he went, he should be Assassinated;" which it was not possible should have ever been so much as thought of. B O O K  
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Notwithstanding all this, the Persons trusted by his Majesty and remaining at *London*, had no sooner notice of it (which his Majesty sent to them, that he might be advised the best way of doing it) but they did all they could to dissuade the pursuing it. They did not think it a good conjuncture to make those two Persons desperate; and they knew that they were not of the temper and inclinations of those, who had too much credit with them, nor did desire to drive things to the utmost extremities, which could never better their Conditions; and that they did both rather desire to find any Expedients, by which they might make a safe and honorable Retreat, than to Advance in the way they were engaged in. But the Argument they chiefly insisted on to the King, was, "That being deprived of their Offices, they would be able to do more mischief, and ready to embark themselves with the most desperate Persons, in the most desperate Attempts;" which fell out accordingly. And there is great reason to believe, that if that Resolution the King had taken, had not been too obstinately pursued at that time, many of the mischiefs, which afterwards fell out, would have been prevented; and, without doubt, if the Staff had remain-



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ed still in the hands of the Earl of *Essex*, by which he was charged with the Defence and Security of the King's Person, he would never have been prevailed with to have taken upon him the Command of that Army which was afterwards raised against the King, and with which so many Battles were Fought. And there can be as little doubt in any man, who knew well the nature and temper of that Time, that it had been very difficult, if not utterly impossible, for the two Houses of Parliament to have raised an Army Then, if the Earl of *Essex* had not consented to be General of that Army.

But the King was inexorable in the point; He was obliged by promise to the Queen at parting, which he would not break; and her Majesty had Contracted so great an indignation against the Earl of *Holland*, whose ingratitude indeed towards Her was very odious, that she had said, "She would never live in the Court, if He kept his place." And so the King sent an Order to *Lyttleton*, the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, "That he should require the Staff and Key from the One, and the Other, and receive them into his custody." The Keeper trembled at the Office, and had not Courage to undertake it. He went presently to the Lord *Falkland*, and desired him to assist him in making his excuse to the King. He made many professions of his Duty to the King, "who, he hoped, would not Command him in an Affair so unsuitable to the Office he held under him: that no Keeper had been employed in such a Service; that if he should execute the Order he had received, it would in the first

“ place be Voted a breach of Privilege in him, being  
 “ a Peer; and the House would commit him to  
 “ Prison, by which the King would receive the  
 “ greatest affront, though He should be ruined;  
 “ whereas the thing itself might be done by a more  
 “ proper Officer, without any inconvenience.

How weak soever the Reasons were, the Passion was strong, and the Lord *Falkland* could not refuse to convey his Letter to the King, which contained his Answer in his own words, with all the imaginable professions of Duty and Zeal for his Service. How ill soever his Majesty was satisfied, he saw the business would not be done that way; and therefore he writ immediately a Letter, all in his own hand, to the Lord *Falkland*; in which with some gracious expressions of excuse for putting that work upon Him, he Commanded him “to require the surrender of the “ Ensigns of their Offices from those two Earls.” The Lord *Falkland* was a little troubled in receiving the Command: They were Persons from whom he had always received great Civilities, and with whom he had much Credit; and this harsh Office might have been more Naturally, and as Effectually performed by a Gentleman Usher, as the same Staff had been demanded before from the Earl of *Pembroke*, within less than a Year. However, he would make no excuse, being a very punctual and exact Person in the performances of his Duty; and so went to both of them, and met them coming to the House, and imparted his Message to them: They desired him very civilly, “that he would give them leave

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“ to confer a little together, and they would, within half an hour, send for him into the House of Commons;” whither he went, and they, within less time, sent to him to meet them in Sir *Thomas Cotton’s* Garden (a place adjacent, where the Members of both Houses used frequently to walk) and there with very few words, they delivered the Staff and the Key into his hands, who immediately carried them to his Lodging; and They went up to the House of Peers: and presently both Houses took notice of it, and with Passion, and bitter Expressions against the evil Counsellors, who had given his Majesty that Counsel, they concurred in a Vote, “ that whosoever presumed to accept of either of those Offices, should be reputed an Enemy to his Country;” and then they proceeded with more impetuosity in the business of the Militia, and all other matters which most trench upon the King’s Authority.

Whilst they were so eager in pursuit of the Militia, and pretended the necessity so imminent, that they could not defer the disposition thereof till it might be Formally, and Regularly settled by Bill, they had their Eye upon another Militia, the Royal Navy; without recovering of which to their own power (though they were satisfied by the pulse of the People, that they would join with them, and be generally obedient to their Commands) they had no mind to venture upon the execution of their Land-Ordinance. And therefore, in the beginning of the Spring, when the Fleet for that Year was provided, after they had excepted against such Persons to be

Captains of Ships, as they thought not devoted to them (as is before mentioned) they sent a formal Message to the Lords, "that the Earl of *Northumberland*, Lord Admiral, might be moved to constitute the Earl of *Warwick* his Admiral of the Fleet for that Year's Service, being a Person of such Honor and Experience, as they might safely Confide in him; and that the Earl of *Warwick* might be desired to undertake that Service." The Lords thought fit that the King's approbation might be first desired, before it was recommended to the Earl of *Northumberland*; but the Commons thought that superfluous, since the Officers of the Fleet were absolutely in the Earl's disposal; and therefore refused to send to the King, but of Themselves sent to both the one Earl and the other; and the Earl of *Warwick*, being well pleased with the Trust, very frankly, without waiting the King's consent, declared "that he was ready to undertake the employment." But this being so publicly agitated, the King could not but take notice of it; and finding that the business should not be proposed to him, thought it necessary, to signify his pleasure in it, that so at least the Lord Admiral might not pretend innocence, if ought should be done to his disservice; and therefore, he appointed Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* to write to the Earl of *Northumberland*, "that his Majesty expected that Sir *John Pennington* should Command that Fleet, as he had done two or three Years before." This Letter being communicated to both Houses, and the Lord Admiral being thereby upon the disadvantage of a Single contest with

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B O O K the King, the House of Commons, rather out of  
 V. kindness and respect to the Earl, than of Duty to  
 the King, Condescended to join with the Lords in  
 a Message to his Majesty; which they sent not by  
 Members of their own, but directed the Lord Keeper  
 " to inclose it in a Letter to the Secretary attending  
 " the King, and to send the same to *York*;" which he  
 did accordingly. The Message was:

A Message  
 from both  
 Houses to the  
 King, Mar.  
 28. 1642.

" That the Lords and Commons, in this present  
 " Parliament assembled, having found it necessary  
 " to provide, and set to Sea, a strong and power-  
 " ful Navy for the Defence of this Kingdom against  
 " Foreign force, and for the Security of his Majesty's  
 " other Dominions, the Charge whereof was to be  
 " born by the Common-wealth: and taking notice  
 " of the indisposition of the Lord Admiral, which  
 " disabled him, at that time, for Commanding the  
 " Fleet in his own Person, did thereupon recom-  
 " mend unto his Lordship the Earl of *Warwick*, a  
 " Person of such Quality and Abilities, as in whom  
 " they might best Confide, to supply his Lordship's  
 " room for this Employment; and understanding  
 " that his Majesty hath Since signified his Pleasure  
 " concerning that Command for *John Pennington*,  
 " they said, they did hold it their Duty to represent  
 " to his Majesty the great danger, and mischief the  
 " Common wealth was like to sustain by such in-  
 " terruption; and therefore did humbly beseech his  
 " Majesty, that the Noble Person, recommended  
 " by both Houses of Parliament for this Service,  
 " might be no longer detained from it, out of  
 " any particular respect to any other Person what-  
 " soever."

The same day that this Message came to his Majesty, he despatched an Answer to the Lord Keeper; in which he told him, "That he wondered both at the Form, and Matter of that inclosed Paper he had sent to him, in the Name of both Houses of Parliament: It being neither by the way of Petition, Declaration, or Letter; and for the Matter, he believed, it was the first time, that the Houses of Parliament had taken upon them the Nomination, or Recommendation of the chief Sea-Commander; but it added to the wonder, that Sir *John Pennington* being already appointed by Him for that Service, upon the Recommendation of his Admiral, and no fault so much as alledged against him, another should be recommended to him. Therefore, he said, his Resolution upon that point was, that he would not alter him, whom he had already appointed to Command that Year's Fleet; whose every ways Sufficiency was so Universally known, the which he was confident his Admiral, if there should be occasion, would make most evident; against whose testimony he supposed his Parliament would not except. And though there were yet None appointed, or the said Sir *John*, through some accident, not able to perform the Service; yet, he said, the men of that profession were so well known to him, besides many other reasons, that (his Admiral excepted, because of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to him."

This Answer was no other than they expected,

V.  
The King's  
Answer.

**B O O K** though they seemed troubled at it, and pretended  
**v.** that they had many things of Misdemeanour to object against Sir *John Pennington*, at least such matters as would render him incapable of that Trust; the greatest of which was that he had conveyed the Lord *Digby* over Sea; though they well knew (as is before mentioned) that he had the King's Warrant and Command for that purpose: and therefore moved the Lords that he might be sent for to be examined upon many particulars: and in the mean time, whilst they caused him to attend their leisure to be examined, they proceeded in hastening the Earl of *Warwick* to make himself ready for the Service, who made no scruple of undertaking it; and the Earl of *Northumberland* receiving the Order, and Desire of both Houses "to grant his Commission to him to be "Admiral of that Fleet," thought himself sufficiently excused towards the King, and did it accordingly. The two Houses in the mean time, without any further thought of procuring the King's Consent, preparing reasons to satisfy his Majesty for the Necessity, or Conveniency of their proceeding.

Many Men, especially they who at a distance observed and discerned the Difficulties the King was like to Encounter, wondered that upon so apparent a breach of Trust, and act of Undutifulness, his Majesty did not at that time revoke the Lord Admiral's Commission, which was but during pleasure; and so put that sure Guard of the Kingdom, his Navy, under such a Command as he might depend upon. But the truth is, it was not Then Counsellable; for (besides that it was easier to Resolve,

“ that it was fit to remove the Earl of *Northumber-* B O O K  
*land,*” than to find a Man competent for the place) V.  
 that way it might have been possible to have prevented the going out of any Fleet to Sea, which would have confirmed the frantic Jealousies of bringing in Foreign Forces; but not have reduced it to his own Obedience.

They had, by degrees, so ordered the Collection of Tonnage and Poundage, by passing Bills for six weeks and two months at a time, and putting those, who should Receive or Pay those Duties, otherwise than they were granted by those Bills, into a *Præmunire*; and so terrified the old Customers, that the King had no other means of setting out his Fleet, than by the Monies arising by the Customs, which they absolutely disposed of; and at this time had Contracted with the Victualler, made the Ships ready, and hired many Merchants Ships to join in that Fleet for the Guard of the Seas. And whilst this matter of the Admiral was in suspense, they suffered the former Bill of Tonnage and Poundage to expire, and did not, till the very Night before, pass a new Bill; which could not have the Royal Assent till many days after, the King being then at *York*. Yet the House of Commons, to save all danger of the *Præmunire*, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of *March*, being the very day that the former Bill expired, sent an Order to all the Collectors of the Customs, many of which could not receive it in ten days after;

“ That the new Bill being passed by both Houses  
 “ for the continuance of those payments until the



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“ third day of *May* (which could not yet receive  
 “ the Royal Assent, in regard of the remoteness of  
 “ his Majesty’s Person from the Parliament) which  
 “ Monies to be collected by that Bill were to be  
 “ employed in the necessary Guarding of the Seas,  
 “ and Defence of the Common-wealth: It was  
 “ therefore ordered by the Commons in Parliament,  
 “ that the several Officers belonging to the Custom-  
 “ House, both in the Port in *London*, and the out-  
 “ Ports, should not permit any Merchant or other  
 “ to Lade, or Unlade any Goods, or Merchandizes,  
 “ before such Persons do make due Entries thereof  
 “ in the Custom-House. And it was declared also  
 “ by the said Commons, that such Officers, upon  
 “ the respective Entry made by any Merchant as  
 “ aforesaid, should intimate to such Merchant, that  
 “ it was the advice of the Commons, for the better  
 “ ease of the said Merchants, and in regard the  
 “ respective Duties would relate, and become due  
 “ as from that day; that the said Merchants upon  
 “ Entry of their Goods, as usually they did, when  
 “ a Law was in force to that purpose, would de-  
 “ posit so much Money as the several Customs  
 “ would amount unto, in the hands of such Officers,  
 “ to be by them accounted to his Majesty, as the  
 “ respective Customs due by the said Bill, when the  
 “ said Bill should have the Royal Assent; or other-  
 “ wise, his Majesty refusing the passing thereof, the  
 “ said Monies to be restored, upon demand, unto  
 “ the several Merchants respectively. ”

By which Order, which was a more absolute  
 Dispensation for a Præmunire, than ever any *Non*

*obstante* granted by the Crown, the Customs were as frankly and fully paid, as if an Act of Parliament had been passed to that purpose; and as soon as the Commission could be sent, and returned from *York*, the Act was passed. But no doubt they had a further design in suffering the Bill totally to expire, before they prepared a new One, than at that time was apprehended; and intended, under such a Popular necessity, which seemed to be occasioned by the King's absence, to bring their own Orders in such a reputation, that in another necessity which They should Declare, they might by the Precedent of this, which was the only Indemnity all those Merchants who paid, and the Officers who received, Customs, had for the preservation, of their Estates, be currently and absolutely obeyed and submitted to.

By this it appears the King could not at that time, with conveniency or safety to his Affairs, displace the Earl of *Northumberland*; and He believed, if his occasions should Hereafter require it, that the Time would be much more seasonable, when the Fleet was at Sea; and the Thing itself more practicable: which was a true conclusion. However, he expressed so much dislike against the Earl of *Warwick's* Commanding that Fleet, that he was not willing that any Officers whom he valued, should take employment under him; which he had shortly after cause to repent. For, by this means, the Vice-Admiralty, which was designed to Captain *Cartwright*, the Controller of the Navy, who hath since sufficiently testified how advantageously to his

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Majesty he would have managed that Charge, upon His refusal (which was occasioned by intimation from his Majesty, as shall be hereafter mentioned) was Conferred upon *Batten*, an obscure Fellow; and, though a good Sea-man, unknown to the Navy, till he was, two or three Years before, for money, made Surveyor, who executed it ever since with great animosity against the King's Service, of which more hereafter.

Being, by this means, secure at Sea, they proceeded with more Vigor at Land; and, though they thought it not Yet seasonable to execute their Ordinance for the Militia with any Form and Pomp, they directed, Underhand, their Agents and Emisfaries, "that the People, of Themselves, should  
" chuse Captains and Officers, and Train under  
" the name of Volunteers;" which begun to be practised in many places of the Kingdom, but only in those Corporations, and by those Inferior People, who were notorious for Faction, and Schism in Religion. The King's Declarations, which were now carefully published, gave them some trouble, and made great impression, in Sober Men, who were moved with the Reason, and in Rich Men, who were startled at the Commands in them. But that Clause in the King's Answer to their Declaration, presented to him at *New Market*, in which He told them, "That if they had not been informed of the  
" seditious words used in, and the circumstances of  
" the Tumults, and would appoint some way for  
" the examination of them, that he would require  
" some of his Learned Counsel to attend with such  
" Evidence

“ Evidence as might satisfy them ” troubled them much more. For if there were still so much Courage left in the King’s Counsel, that they durst appear to inform against any of those proceedings, which They favored, they should find Men grow more afraid of the Law than of Them; which would destroy all their designs. Therefore they Resolved to proceed with all expedition, and severely against the Attorney General for his Trespas and Presumption upon their Privileges, in the Accusation of the five Members, and the Lord *Kimbolton*: of the circumstances of which Proceeding, and Judgment thereupon, being as extraordinary, and as distant from the Rules of Justice, at least of practice, as any thing that then happened, it will not be amiss to set down two or three particulars.

Shortly after they had Impeached him ( which is mentioned before ) and the King had found it necessary to give over any prosecution against the Others, his Majesty being desirous now he had freed Them, that they should free His Attorney, writ a Letter from *Roxton*, when he was in his way to *York*, to the Lord Keeper; in which he told him, “ that the Articles, which had been preferred against “ the Members, were, by Himself, delivered to his “ Attorney General engrossed in paper; and that he “ had then commanded him to accuse those Persons “ upon those Articles of High-Treason, and other “ Misdemeanours; and, in His Name, to desire a “ Committee of Lords might be appointed to take “ the examination of such Witnesses as should be “ produced, as formerly had been done in cases of



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“ like nature, according to the Justice of the House.  
 “ And his Majesty did further declare, that his said  
 “ Attorney did not advise or contrive the said Ar-  
 “ ticles, nor had any thing to do with, or in advising,  
 “ any breach of Privilege that followed after. And  
 “ for what he did in obedience to His Commands,  
 “ he conceived he was bound by Oath, and the duty  
 “ of his Place, and by the Trust reposed in him by  
 “ his Majesty, so to do: and that if he had refused  
 “ to obey his Majesty therein, his Majesty would  
 “ have questioned him for breach of Oath, Duty,  
 “ and Trust; but now having declared that he found  
 “ cause wholly to desist from proceeding against the  
 “ Persons accused, he had commanded him to pro-  
 “ ceed no further therein, nor to produce, nor  
 “ discover any Proof concerning the same.”

Though this Testimony of his Majesty's clearly  
 absolved him from the Guilt, with which he was  
 charged, yet it rather hastened the Trial, and shar-  
 pened the edge, that was before keen enough against  
 him; and the day of Trial being come, when the  
 Members of the Commons, who were appointed  
 for the Prosecution, found that Counsel was ready  
 (which had been assigned by the Lords) for the  
 defence of the Attorney General, they professed,  
 “ that they would admit no Counsel; that it was  
 “ below the dignity of the House of Commons to  
 “ plead against Fee'd Counsel; that whoever pre-  
 “ sumed to be of Counsel with a Person accused by  
 “ the Commons of *England* should be taught better  
 “ to know his duty, and should have cause to repent  
 “ it.” The Lords seemed much moved with this

reproach, that their Acts of Judicature should be questioned, and the Counsel, which had been justly, and regularly assigned by them, should be threatened for submitting to Their Order. But that which troubled them most, was, that the Counsel, which was assigned by them, upon this reprehension, and threat of the Commons, positively refused to meddle further in the business, or to make any Defence for the Attorney. Hereupon, they put off the Trial, and commit to the Tower of *London* Sir *Thomas Bedingsfield*, and Sir *Thomas Gardner*, for their contempt in refusing to be of Counsel with the Attorney upon Their Assignment: standers by looking upon the justice of Parliament with less reverence, to see the Subject, between the contradictory, and opposite Commands of both Houses (the displeasure of either being insupportable) punished and imprisoned for doing, by One, what he was straitly inhibited from doing by the Other.

However, this difference gave only respite for some days to the Attorney, who was quickly again called before his Judges. To what was passionately and unreasonably objected against him, “of breach of  
“ Privilege and Scandal,” he confidently alledged  
“ the Duty of his place; that his Master’s Command  
“ was Warrant for what he had done; and that he  
“ had been justly punishable if he had refused to do  
“ it, when Commanded; that there had never been  
“ a Pretence of Privilege in Case of Treason, the  
“ contrary whereof was not only understood by the  
“ Law, but had been by Themselves confessed, in  
“ a Petition delivered by them in the beginning of

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“ this King’s Reign, upon the imprisonment of the  
 “ Earl of *Arundel*, in which it was acknowledged,  
 “ that the Privileges of Parliament extended not to  
 “ Treason, Felony, or refusal to find Sureties for  
 “ the Peace: that he had no reason to suspect the  
 “ executing the Duty of his place would have been  
 “ imputed to him for any Trespafs, since the very  
 “ same thing he had now done, and of which he  
 “ stood accused, was done, in the first year of this  
 “ King’s Reign, by Sir *Robert Heath*, the then  
 “ Attorney General; who exhibited Articles of  
 “ High-Treason before their Lordships, against the  
 “ Earl of *Bristol*, which was not then understood  
 “ to be any breach of Privilege; and therefore,  
 “ having so late a Precedent, most of their Lordships  
 “ being then Judges, he hoped he should be held  
 “ excusable for not being able to discern that to be  
 “ a crime, which they had yet never declared to  
 “ be so.” The undeniable reasons of his Defence  
 (against which nothing was replied, “ but the in-  
 “ convenience and mischief, which would attend a  
 “ Parliament, if the Members might be accused of  
 “ High-Treason without Their consent) ” prevailed  
 so far with the Major part of the House of Peers,  
 though the Prosecution was carried on with all  
 imaginable sharpness, and vehemence by the House  
 of Commons, and entertained by those Peers, who  
 were of that Party, as a matter of vast concernment  
 to all their hopes, that the Questions being put,  
 whether he should be deprived of his place of At-  
 torney? whether he should be Fined to the King?  
 whether he should pay Damages to the persons

accused? and whether he should be committed to the Tower? which were the several parts of the Sentence, which many of the Lords had pressed he should undergo, the Negative prevailed in every one of the Particulars; so that the Attorney was understood by all men, who understood the Rules and Practice of Parliament to be absolutely absolved from that Charge and Impeachment, by the Judgment of the House of Peers.

The House of Commons expressed all possible resentment, and declared "that they would not rest  
" satisfied with the Judgment;" and some Lords, even of those who had acquitted him, were very desirous to find out an Expedient, whereby the House of Commons might be compounded with; and it was believed, that the Attorney himself was much shaken with the torrent of Malice and Prejudice, which the House of Commons seemed now to threaten him with; conceiving, "that He and  
" his Office now triumphed over the whole Body,  
" and not over six Members only:" and therefore, after some days, the House of Peers considering, "that his discharge was but Negative, that he  
" should not be punished in this and that degree;  
" and that he had no Absolution from the crimes,  
" with which he was charged," proceeded to a new Judgment (contrary to all course and practice of Parliament, or of any Judicial Court) and complying with all their other Votes, Resolved, by way of Judgment upon him, "that he should be disabled  
" from ever being a Parliament-Man; incapable of  
" any place of Judicature, or other preferment,



B O O K “ than of Attorney General ;” which they could not  
 v. deprive him of, by reason of the former Vote : and  
 “ that he should be committed to the Prison of the  
 “ Fleet.” Which Sentence was with all Formality  
 pronounced against him, and he committed to the  
 Fleet accordingly : with which Sentence the Com-  
 mons were no more satisfied than with the former ;  
 some of them looking that their Favorite, the So-  
 licitor, should have the place of Attorney ; Others,  
 that the accused Members should receive ample  
 Damages by way of reparation ; without which  
 they could not think themselves secure from the  
 like Attempts.

Having, by this extraordinary and exemplary  
 proceeding, fortified their Privileges against such  
 Attempts, and secured their Persons from being  
 accused, or proceeded against by Law, they used  
 no less severity, against all those who presumed to  
 question the justice, or prudence of their Actions,  
 especially against those, who, following the Method  
 that had done so much hurt, drew the people to  
 Petition for that which they had no mind to grant ;  
 and in this prosecution they were not less severe,  
 and vehement, than against the highest Treason  
 could be imagined.

Upon the Petition mentioned before, that was  
 framed in *London* against their settling the Militia,  
 they committed one *George Binion*, a Citizen of  
 great reputation for Wealth and Wisdom, and who  
 was indeed a very sober man. After he had lain  
 some time in Prison, the Lords, according to Law,  
 bailed him ; but the Commons caused him the next

day to be recommitted, and preferred an Impeachment against him, for no other crime but “advising and contriving that Petition.” The Gentleman defended himself, “that it was always held, and so publicly declared this Parliament, to be Lawful, in a modest way, to Petition for the removal, or prevention of any grievance: that observing very many Petitions to be delivered, and received, for the settling the Militia, in an other way than was then agreeable to the Law, or had been practised, and conceiving that the same would prove very prejudicial to the City of *London*, of which he was a Member: he had joined with many other Citizens, of known ability and integrity, in a Petition against so great an inconvenience; which, he presumed, was lawful for him to do.” How reasonable soever this Defence was, the House of Peers adjudged him “to be Disfranchised, and incapable of any Office in the City; to be committed to the Common Goal of *Colchester*” (for his reputation was so great in *London*, that they would not trust him in a City-Prison) and Fined him three thousand pounds.

About the same time, at the General Assizes in *Kent*, the Justices of Peace, and principal Gentlemen of that County, prepared a Petition to be presented to the two Houses, with a desire, “that the Militia might not be otherwise exercised in that County, than the known Law permitted: and that the Book of Common-Prayer, established by Law, might be observed.” This Petition was communicated by many to their Friends, and Copies

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V. thereof sent abroad, before the Subscription was ready; whereupon the House of Peers took notice of it, as tending to some Commotion in *Kent*; and, in the Debate, the Earl of *Bristol* taking notice, "that he had Seen a Copy of it, and had had some conference about it with Judge *Mall*," who was then Judge of Assize in *Kent*, and newly returned out of his Circuit, both the Earl and Judge, for having but Seen the Petition, were presently committed to the Tower; and a Declaration published, "that none should presume to deliver that, or the like Petition to either House." Notwithstanding which, some Gentlemen of *Kent*, with a great number of the Substantial Inhabitants of that County, came to the City; which, upon the Alarm, was put in Arms; strong Guards placed at *London-Bridge*, where the Petitioners were disarmed, and only some few suffered to pass with their Petition to *Westminster*; the rest forced to return to their Country. And, upon the delivery thereof to the House of Commons (though the same was very modest, and in a more dutiful Dialect than most Petitions delivered to them) the bringers of the Petition were sharply reprehended; two or three of them committed to several Prisons; the Principal Gentlemen of the County, who had subscribed and advised it, sent for as Delinquents; Charges, and Articles of Impeachment, drawn up against them; and a Declaration published, "that whosoever should henceforth advise, or contrive the like Petitions, should be proceeded against, as Enemies to the Common-wealth." So unlike, and different were their tempers; and

reception of those modest Addreffes, which were for duty and obedience to the Laws eftablifhed; and thofe which preffed, and brought on Alteration and Innovation. But that injuftice gave great life, and encouragement to their own Profelytes; and taught Others to know that their being Innocent would not be long Eafy or Safe: and this kind of Juftice extended itfelf in the fame meafure to their own Members, who opposed their Irregular determinations; who, befides the agony and vexation of having the moft plain reafon, and confefled Law, rejected, and over-ruled with contempt and noife, were liable to all the Personal reproaches and difcountenance, that the Pride and Petulancy of the other Party, could lay upon them; and were fometimes imprifoned, and difgraced, for Freely fpeaking their Opinions, and Confcience in Debate.

All forts of men being thus terrified, the Commons remembered, that a great Magazine of the King's Ammunition lay ftill at *Hull*; and though that Town was in the cuftody of a Confident of their own, yet they were not willing to venture fo great a treasure fo near the King, who continued at *York*, with a great refort of Perfons of Honor and Quality from all parts; and therefore they refolved, under pretence of fupplying *Ireland*, to remove it fpeedily from thence; and moved the Lords, "to join with them in an Order to that purpofe." The Lords, who proceeded with lefs Fury, and more Formality, defired "that it might be done with the King's confent." After a long Debate, the one thinking they merited much by that Civility, the other

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BOOK V. contented to gratify those in the Ceremony, who they knew, would in the end concur with them, a Petition was agreed upon to be sent to his Majesty; in which, that he might the sooner yield to them in this matter, they resolved to remember him of that, which, they thought, would reflect on him with the People, and to “ move him to take off the Reprieve from the six Priests, which is before mentioned.” And so they sent their Petition to him, telling him, “ that they found the Stores of Arms, and Ammunition in the Tower of *London* much diminished; and that the necessity for supply of his Kingdom of *Ireland* ( for which they had been issued from thence ) daily increased; and that the occasion, for which the Magazine was placed at *Hull*, was now taken away; and considering it would be kept at *London* with less charge, and more safety, and transported thence with much more convenience for the service of the Kingdom of *Ireland*; they therefore humbly prayed, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give leave, that the said Arms, Cannon, and Ammunition, now in the Magazine of *Hull*, might be removed to the Tower of *London*, according as should be directed by both his Houses of Parliament: And whereas six Priests, then in *Newgate*, were condemned to die, and by his Majesty had been reprieved, they humbly prayed his Majesty to be pleased, that the said Reprieves might be taken off, and the Priests executed according to Law.” To which Petition his Majesty immediately returned Answer in these words:

A Petition  
from the two  
Houses to re-  
move the  
Magazine  
from Hull.

His Majesty's  
Answer.

“ We rather expected, and have done long, that

“ You should have given Us an account, why a B O O K  
 “ Garrison hath been placed in our Town of *Hull*, v.  
 “ without our Consent, and Soldiers Billeted there  
 “ against Law, and express words of the Petition  
 “ of Right, than to be moved, for the avoiding of  
 “ a needless charge you have put upon yourselves, to  
 “ give Our Consent for the removal of Our Magazine  
 “ and Munition, Our own proper Goods, upon such  
 “ General Reasons as indeed give no satisfaction to  
 “ Our Judgment : And since you have made the busi-  
 “ ness of *Hull* your Argument, We would gladly be  
 “ informed, why our own inclination, on the general  
 “ rumor of the designs of Papists in the Northern  
 “ Parts, was not thought sufficient ground for us to  
 “ put a Person of Honor, Fortune, and unblemished  
 “ Reputation, into a Town and Fort of Our own,  
 “ where Our own Magazine lay : and yet the same  
 “ rumor be Warrant enough for You to commit the  
 “ same Town and Fort, without Our Consent, to  
 “ the hands of Sir *John Hotham*, with a power  
 “ unagreeable to the Law of the Land, or the  
 “ Liberty of the Subject.

“ And yet of this, in point of Right, or Privilege,  
 “ for sure We are not without Privilege too, We  
 “ have not all this while complained : and being con-  
 “ fident that the place, whatsoever discourse there  
 “ is of Public or Private instructions to the contrary,  
 “ shall be speedily given up, if We shall require it,  
 “ We shall be contented to dispose our Munition  
 “ there, as We have done in other places, for the  
 “ Public ease and benefit, as upon particular advice,  
 “ We shall find convenient ; though We cannot

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“ think it fit, or consent, that the whole Magazine  
 “ be removed together. But when you shall agree  
 “ upon such proportions, as shall be held necessary  
 “ for any particular Service, We shall sign such  
 “ Warrants as shall be agreeable to Wisdom and  
 “ Reason; and if any of them be designed for *Ulster*,  
 “ or *Leinster*, you know well the Conveyance will  
 “ be more easy and convenient from the place they  
 “ are Now in. Yet we must tell you, that if the Fears  
 “ are so great from the Papists at home, or of Fo-  
 “ reign Force, as is pretended, it seems strange that  
 “ you make not provision of Arms, and Munition,  
 “ for defence of this Kingdom; rather than seek to  
 “ carry any more from hence, without some course  
 “ taken for supply; especially, if you remember  
 “ your engagement to Our Scots Subjects, for that  
 “ proportion of Arms, which is contained in your  
 “ Treaty. We speak not this, as not thinking the  
 “ sending of Arms to *Ireland* very necessary, but  
 “ only for the Way of the provision. For You  
 “ know what great quantities We have Assigned out  
 “ of Our several Stores, which, in due time, We  
 “ hope, You will see replenished. For the Charge  
 “ of looking to the Magazine at *Hull*, as it was  
 “ undertaken Voluntarily by You at first, and, to  
 “ say no more, Unnecessarily; so You may free  
 “ Our good People of that Charge, and leave it to  
 “ Us to look to, who are the proper Owner of it.  
 “ And this, We hope, will give you full satisfaction  
 “ in this point, and that Ye do not, as you have  
 “ done in the business of the Militia send this Message  
 “ out of Compliment and Ceremony, resolving to

“ be your Own Carvers at last. For We must tell  
“ you, if any attempt shall be made or given in this  
“ matter, without Our Consent or Approbation,  
“ We shall esteem it as an Act of Violence against Us;  
“ and declare it to all the World, as the greatest  
“ Violation of Our Right, and breach of Our  
“ Privilege.

“ Concerning the six Priests condemned, it is true,  
“ they were Reprieved by Our Warrant, We being  
“ informed that they were, by some restraint, dis-  
“ abled to take the benefit of Our former Proclama-  
“ tion; since that, We have issued out another, for  
“ the due execution of the Laws against Papists; and  
“ have most solemnly promised, in the word of a  
“ King, never to pardon any Priest, without Your  
“ consent, which shall be found guilty by Law;  
“ desiring to banish these, having herewith sent our  
“ Warrant to that purpose, if, upon second thoughts,  
“ You do not disapprove thereof. But if You think  
“ the Execution of these Persons so very necessary to  
“ the great, and pious work of Reformation, We  
“ refer it wholly to You; declaring hereby, that  
“ upon such Your Resolution signified to the Minis-  
“ ters of Justice, Our Warrant for their Reprieve is  
“ determined, and the Law to have the course. And  
“ now let Us ask you ( for we are willing to husband  
“ time, and to despatch as much as may be under  
“ One Message; God knows the distractions of this  
“ Kingdom want a present Remedy ) will there  
“ Never be a time to Offer to, as well as to Ask of  
“ Us? We will propose no more particulars to you,  
“ having no luck to please, or to be understood by



B O O K " you; take your own time for what concerns Our  
 V. " particular: but be sure you have an early, speedy  
 " Care of the Public; that is, of the only Rule that  
 " preserves the Public, the Law of the Land; pre-  
 " serve the Dignity and Reverence due to That. It  
 " was well said in a Speech, made by a private Person;  
 " it was Mr. Pym's Speech against the Earl of *Straf-*  
 " *ford*, but published by Order of the House of  
 " Commons this Parliament: the Law is that, which  
 " puts a difference betwixt Good and Evil, betwixt  
 " Just and Unjust. If you take away the Law, all  
 " things will fall into a Confusion, every man will  
 " become Law unto himself; which, in the depraved  
 " Condition of Human Nature, must needs produce  
 " many great enormities. Lust will become a Law;  
 " and Envy will become a Law; Covetousness and  
 " Ambition will become Laws; and what dictates,  
 " what decisions, such Laws will produce, may  
 " easily be discerned. So said that Gentleman, and  
 " much more very well, in defence of the Law, and  
 " against Arbitrary Power. It is worth looking over,  
 " and considering: and if the most Zealous defence  
 " of the true Protestant profession, and the most  
 " resolved protection of the Law, be the most neces-  
 " sary duty of a Prince, We cannot believe this  
 " miserable distance, and misunderstanding, can  
 " be long continued between us; We having often,  
 " and earnestly declared them to be the chiefest  
 " desires of Our Soul, and the End and Rule of all  
 " Our Actions. For *Ireland*, We have sufficiently,  
 " and We hope satisfactorily, expressed to all Our  
 " good Subjects Our hearty sense of that sad business,

“ in Our several Messages on that Argument, but  
 “ especially in Our last of the eighth of this Month,  
 “ concerning Our Resolution for that Service; for  
 “ the Speedy, Honorable, and full performance  
 “ whereof, We conjure You to yield all possible  
 “ assistance, and present advice.”

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This Answer was received with the usual circumstances of trouble and discontent, the taxing of evil Counsellors, and Malignant Persons about the King; and that Clause about the condemned Priests exceedingly displeased them; for by the King's reference of the matter entirely to Them, he had removed the scandal from Himself, and laid it at Their doors; and though they were well content, and desirous, that they should have been Executed by the King's Warrant for taking off his own Reprieve (whereby they should have made him retract an Act of his Own Mercy, and undeniably within his Own Power; and thereby have lessened much of the Devotion of that People to him, when they should have seen him quit his Power of preserving them in the least degree) yet, for many reasons, they were not willing to take that harsh part upon Themselves; and so those condemned Priests were no more prosecuted, and were much safer under that Reference for their Execution, than they could have been, at that time, by a Pardon under the Great Seal of *England*. For the other part of the Answer concerning the Magazine, it made no pause with them; but within few day's after, they sent a Warrant to their own Governor, Sir *John Hotham*, to deliver it; and to their own Admiral, the Earl of *Warwick*, to transport

**B O O K** it to *London*; which was, notwithstanding the  
**v.** King's inhibition, done accordingly. But they had  
 at that time another Message from the King, which  
 was referred to in the last Clause of that Answer, and  
 came to their hands some few days before, that gave  
 them some serious trouble and apprehension; the  
 grounds and reasons of which were these:

The King finding, that notwithstanding all the  
 professions, and protestations he could make, the  
 business of *Ireland* was still unreasonably objected  
 to him, as if he were not cordial in the suppressing  
 that Rebellion, sent a Message to both Houses:

His Majesty's  
 Message to  
 both Houses,  
 Apr. 8. 1642.  
 offering to go  
 in Person in-  
 to Ireland.

“ That being grieved at the very Soul for the  
 “ Calamities of his good Subjects of *Ireland*, and  
 “ being most tenderly sensible of the false, and scan-  
 “ dalous Reports dispersed amongst the People  
 “ concerning the Rebellion there; which not only  
 “ wounded his Majesty in Honor, but likewise  
 “ greatly retarded the Reducing that unhappy King-  
 “ dom, and multiplied the distractions at Home, by  
 “ weakening the mutual confidence between Him,  
 “ and his People: out of his pious Zeal to the  
 “ Honor of Almighty God, in establishing the true  
 “ Protestant profession in that Kingdom, and his  
 “ Princely Care for the good of all his Dominions,  
 “ he had firmly resolved to go with all convenient  
 “ speed into *Ireland*, to chastise those wicked and  
 “ detestable Rebels, odious to God, and all Good  
 “ Men; thereby so to settle the Peace of that King-  
 “ dom, and the Security of This, that the very  
 “ Name of Fears and Jealousies might be no more  
 “ heard of amongst them.

“ And

“ And He said, as he doubted not, but his Parliament would cheerfully give all possible Assistance to this good Work, so he required them, and all his loving Subjects, to believe, that he would, upon those considerations, as earnestly pursue that Design, not declining any hazard of his Person in performing that duty, which he owed to the defence of God’s true Religion, and his distressed Subjects, as he Undertook it for those only ends; to the sincerity of which profession, he called God to Witness, with this further assurance, that he would never consent, upon whatsoever pretence, to a Toleration of the Popish profession there, or the abolition of the Laws now in force against Popish Recusants in that Kingdom.

“ His Majesty further advertised them, that, towards this Work, he intended to raise forthwith, by his Commissions, in the Counties near *West-Chester*, a Guard for his own Person (when he should come into *Ireland*) consisting of two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, which should be Armed at *West-Chester*, from his Magazine at *Hull*; at which time, he said, all the Officers, and Soldiers, should take the Oaths of Supremacy, and Allegiance; the Charge of raising and paying whereof, he desired the Parliament to add to their former Undertakings for that War; which he would not only well accept, but, if their Pay should be found too great a burden to his good Subjects, he would be willing, by the advice of his Parliament, to sell, or pawn, any of his Parks,



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“ Lands, or Houses, towards the supplies of the  
 “ Service of *Ireland*. With the addition of these  
 “ Levies to the former of *English* and *Scots*, agreed  
 “ upon in Parliament, he said, he hoped so to appear  
 “ in that Action, that by the Assistance of Almighty  
 “ God, that Kingdom, in a short time, might be  
 “ wholly reduced, and restored to Peace, and some  
 “ measure of Happiness; whereby he might cheer-  
 “ fully return, to be welcomed Home with the affec-  
 “ tions and blessings of all his good *English* People.  
 “ Towards this good Work, he said, as he had  
 “ lately made despatches into *Scotland*, to quicken  
 “ the Levies there for *Ulster*, so he heartily wished,  
 “ that his Parliament would give all possible expen-  
 “ diture to those, which they had Resolved for  
 “ *Munster* and *Connaught*; and hoped the encourage-  
 “ ment, which the Adventurers, of whose interests  
 “ he would be always very careful, would hereby  
 “ receive, would raise full Sums of Money for the  
 “ doing thereof. He told them, that out of his  
 “ earnest desire to remove all occasions, which did  
 “ unhappily multiply misunderstandings between  
 “ him and his Parliament, he had likewise prepared  
 “ a Bill to be offered to them by his Attorney con-  
 “ cerning the Militia; whereby he hoped, the Peace  
 “ and Safety of the Kingdom might be fully secured  
 “ to the general satisfaction of all men, without  
 “ Violation of his Majesty's Just Rights, or preju-  
 “ dice to the Liberty of the Subject. If this should  
 “ be thankfully received, he said, he should be  
 “ glad of it; if refused, he must call God, and all  
 “ the World, to judge on Whose part the default

“ was ; only he required, if the Bill should be ap- B O O K  
 “ proved of, that if any Corporations should make V.  
 “ their Lawful Rights appear, they might be re-  
 “ served to them. He said, before he would part  
 “ from *England*, he would take all due care to  
 “ intrust such Persons with such Authority in his  
 “ absence, as he should find to be requisite for the  
 “ Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, and the happy  
 “ progress of the Parliament.”

They neither before nor after ever received any  
 Message from his Majesty, that more discomposed  
 them; and so much the more, because that which  
 gave them most Umbrage, could not be publicly  
 and safely avowed by them. For though, to those  
 who had a due reverence to the King's Person, and  
 an impatient desire, that all misunderstandings might  
 be composed, they urged “ the hazard, and danger  
 “ to his Majesty's Person, in such an Expedition,  
 “ and the increase of Jealousies and Distractions,  
 “ that would ensue in this Kingdom by his Ab-  
 “ sence;” and to others, who from the barbarity,  
 inhumanity, and unheard of cruelty, exercised by  
 the Rebels in *Ireland* upon the *English* Protestants  
 (of which they every day received fresh and bleed-  
 ing evidence) had contracted a great animosity  
 against that whole Nation, and were persuaded that  
 the work of Extirpation was not so difficult as in  
 truth it was; and to the Adventurers, who had dis-  
 bursed great sums of Money, and had digested a  
 full Assurance of Ample Recompence by Confisca-  
 tions, and Forfeitures; “ that by this Voyage of  
 “ the King, a Peace would be in a short time con-

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“ cluded in that Kingdom, to their great disadvantage and damage;” yet the true Reasons, which surpris’d and startled them, were, that hereby the managing the War of *Ireland* would be taken out of their hands; and so, instead of having a Nursery for Soldiers of their Own, which they might employ as they saw occasion; and a power of raising what Money they pleas’d in this Kingdom under that Title, which they might dispose, as they found most fit for their affairs; the King would probably in a short time recover One entire Kingdom to his Obedience, by which he might be able to preserve the Peace of the other Two. However, working by several impressions upon several Affections, they found it no difficult thing to persuade, almost an Unanimous, aversion from approving the Journey; they who usually oppos’d their advice, not enduring to think of staying in *England*, where the power, at least for a time, would be in Them, whose Government, they knew, would be terrible when his Majesty should be in *Ireland*. Upon this they despatched a Magisterial Answer to the King, in which they told him;

The Answer  
of both Houses  
to his Majesty’s  
Message of his  
going in Person  
into *Ireland*. Apr.  
26. 1642.

“ That the Lords and Commons in Parliament,  
“ had duly considered the Message, received from  
“ his Majesty, concerning his purpose of going into  
“ *Ireland* in his Own Person to prosecute the War  
“ there, with the bodies of his *English* Subjects,  
“ Levied, Transported, and maintained at their  
“ Charge, which he was pleas’d to propound to  
“ them, not as a matter wherein he desired the  
“ advice of his Parliament, but as already firmly

“ Resolved on, and forthwith to be put in Exe- B O O K  
 “ cution, by granting out Commissions for the V.  
 “ Levying of two thousand Foot, and two hundred  
 “ Horse, for a Guard for his Person, when he should  
 “ come into that Kingdom; wherein, they said,  
 “ they could not but, with all reverence and humi-  
 “ lity to his Majesty, observe, that he had declined  
 “ his Great Council, the Parliament, and varied  
 “ from the usual Course of his Royal Predecessors;  
 “ that a business of so great Importance concerning  
 “ the Peace and Safety of all his Subjects, and  
 “ wherein they have a special interest, by his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s promise, and by those great sums, which  
 “ they had disbursed, and for which they stood  
 “ engaged, should be concluded, and undertaken  
 “ without their advice: whereupon, they said, they  
 “ held it their duty to declare, that if, at that time,  
 “ his Majesty should go into *Ireland*, he would  
 “ very much endanger the safety of his Royal Per-  
 “ son, and Kingdoms, and of all other States pro-  
 “ fessing the Protestant Religion in *Christendom*, and  
 “ make way to the execution of that cruel, and  
 “ bloody design of the Papists, every where to  
 “ root out and destroy the Reformed Religion; as  
 “ the *Irish* Papists had already, in a great part,  
 “ effected in that Kingdom; and, in all likeli hood,  
 “ would quickly be attempted in other places, if  
 “ the consideration of the strength, and union of  
 “ the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, did not  
 “ much hinder, and discourage the execution of any  
 “ such design. And that they might manifest to his  
 “ Majesty the danger and misery, which such a



“ Journey and Enterprife would produce, they presented to his Majesty the reasons of that their humble opinion and advice :

1. “ His Royal Person would be subject, not only to the casualty of War, but to secret Practices and Conspiracies; especially his Majesty continuing his profession to maintain the Protestant Religion in that Kingdom, which the Papists were generally bound by their vow to extirpate.

2 “ It would exceedingly encourage the Rebels; who did generally profess and declare, that his Majesty did favor and allow their proceedings, and that this Insurrection was undertaken by the Warrant of his Commission; and it would make good their expectation of great advantage, by his Majesty’s presence at that time, of so much distraction in this Kingdom, whereby they might hope the two Houses of Parliament would be disabled to supply the War there, especially there appearing less necessity of his Majesty’s Journey at that time, by reason of the manifold Successes, which God had given against them.

3. “ It would much hinder, and impair the means whereby the War was to be Supported, and increase the Charge of it, and in both these respects make it more insupportable to the Subject; and this, they said, they could confidently affirm; because many of the Adventurers, who had already subscribed, did, upon the knowledge of his Majesty’s intention, declare their Resolution not to pay in their Money; and others, very willing to have subscribed, do Now profess the contrary.

4. " His Majesty's absence must necessarily very  
 " much interrupt the proceedings of Parliament;  
 " and deprive his Subjects of the benefit of those  
 " further Acts of Grace and Justice, which they  
 " should humbly expect from his Majesty for the  
 " establishing a perfect Union, and mutual Confi-  
 " dence between his Majesty and his People, and  
 " procuring, and confirming the prosperity, and  
 " happiness of both.

5. " It would exceedingly increase the Fears and  
 " Jealousies of his People; and render their doubts  
 " more probable, of some Force intended, by some  
 " evil Counsels near his Majesty, in opposition of  
 " the Parliament, and favor of the Malignant Party  
 " of this Kingdom.

6. " It would bereave his Parliament of that ad-  
 " vantage, whereby they were induced to under-  
 " take that War, upon his Majesty's promise that  
 " it should be managed by Their advice; which  
 " could not be done, if his Majesty, contrary to  
 " their Counsels, should undertake to order, and  
 " govern it in his own Person.

" Upon which, and divers other reasons, they  
 " said, they had Resolved, by the full and con-  
 " current Agreement of both Houses, that they  
 " could not, with discharge of their duty, consent  
 " to any Levies or raising of Soldiers to be made  
 " by his Majesty, for that his intended expedition  
 " into *Ireland*; or to the payment of any Army, or  
 " Soldiers there, but such as should be employed,  
 " and governed according to their advice, and di-  
 " rection: and that, if such Levies should be made

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“ by any Commission of his Majesty’s, not agreed  
 “ to by both Houses of Parliament, they should be  
 “ forced to interpret the same to be raised to the  
 “ Terror of his People, and Disturbance of the  
 “ Public Peace; and did hold themselves bound,  
 “ by the Laws of the Kingdom, to apply the Au-  
 “ thority of Parliament to suppress the same.

“ And, they said, they did further most humbly  
 “ declare, that if his Majesty should by ill Counsel  
 “ be persuaded to go, contrary to that advice of his  
 “ Parliament ( which they hoped his Majesty would  
 “ not ) they did not , in that case, hold themselves  
 “ bound to submit to any Commissioners, which  
 “ his Majesty should chuse; but did Resolve to  
 “ Preserve and Govern the Kingdom, by the  
 “ Counsel and Advice of Parliament, for his Ma-  
 “ jesty and his Posterity, according to their Alle-  
 “ giance, and the Law of the Land: wherefore,  
 “ they did most humbly pray, and advise his Ma-  
 “ jesty, to desist from that his intended passage into  
 “ *Ireland*, and from all preparation of Men and  
 “ Arms tending thereunto; and to leave the mana-  
 “ ging of that War to his Parliament, according to  
 “ his promise made unto them, and his Commission  
 “ granted under his Great Seal of *England*, by  
 “ advice of both Houses; in prosecution whereof,  
 “ by God’s blessing, they had already made a prof-  
 “ perous entrance, by many defeats of the Rebels,  
 “ whereby they were much weakened and disheart-  
 “ ened; and had no probable means of subsistence,  
 “ if the proceedings of the two Houses were not  
 “ interrupted by that interposition of his Majesty’s

" Journey: but they hoped, upon good grounds,  
 " that, within a short time, without hazard of his  
 " Person, and so much dangerous confusion in his  
 " Kingdoms, which must needs ensue, if he should  
 " proceed in that resolution, they should be enabled  
 " fully to vindicate his Majesty's Right, and Au-  
 " thority in that Kingdom; and punish those horri-  
 " ble, outrageous cruelties, which had been com-  
 " mitted in the murdering, and spoiling so many  
 " of his Subjects; and to bring that Realm to such  
 " a condition, as might be much to the Advantage  
 " of his Majesty and the Crown, and the Honor  
 " of his Government, and Contentment of his  
 " People: for the better and more speedy effecting  
 " whereof, they did again renew their humble de-  
 " sires of his return to his Parliament; and that he  
 " would please to reject all Counsels, and Appre-  
 " hensions, which might any way derogate from  
 " that faithfulness, and Allegiance, which, in  
 " truth and sincerity, they had always born and  
 " professed to his Majesty, and should ever make  
 " good, to the uttermost, with their Lives and  
 " Fortunes."

To this Petition ( the Matter whereof finding a  
 general concurrence, there was the less debate, and  
 contradiction upon the Manner of Expression) being  
 sent to the King to *York*; and, in the mean time, all  
 preparations being suspended for the necessary relief  
 for *Ireland*, insomuch as with the Votes (which  
 were presently printed) against the King's Journey,  
 there was likewise an Order printed to discourage  
 the Adventurers from bringing in their Money;



**B O O K** the which, though it had no approbation from either  
**V.** House, and seemed to be angrily interpreted by them, and the Printer was ordered to be found out and punished, yet did wholly stop that Service; and by the no inquiry, or punishment of that boldness, appeared to be done by design) his Majesty speedily returned this Answer.

The King's  
 Reply touch-  
 ing his going  
 into Ireland.

“ That he was so troubled, and astonished to find  
 “ that unexpected reception, and misunderstanding  
 “ of his Message concerning his Irish Journey, that  
 “ (being so much disappointed of the Approbation,  
 “ and thanks he looked for to that Declaration) he  
 “ had great cause to doubt, whether it were in his  
 “ power, to Say, or Do any thing, which would  
 “ not fall within the like interpretation: but he said,  
 “ as he had, in that Message, called God to Wit-  
 “ nesses the sincerity of the profession of his only ends  
 “ for the undertaking that Journey; so he must  
 “ Appeal to all his good Subjects, and the whole  
 “ world, whether the reasons alledged against that  
 “ Journey, were of Weight to satisfy his under-  
 “ standing; or the Counsel, presented to dissuade  
 “ him from it, were full of that Duty, as was like  
 “ to prevail over his Affections. For the resolving  
 “ of so great a business without the Advice of his  
 “ Parliament, he said, he must remember them,  
 “ how often, by his Message, he made the same  
 “ offer, if They should advise him thereunto; to  
 “ which they never gave him the least Answer; but,  
 “ in their late Declaration, told him, that they  
 “ were not to be satisfied with Words: so that he  
 “ had reason to conceive, they rather avoided, out

“ of regard to his Person, to give him Counsel to  
 “ run that hazard, than that they disapproved the  
 “ inclination. And, he asked them, what greater  
 “ comfort, or security the Protestants of *Christendom*  
 “ could receive, than by seeing a Protestant King  
 “ venture, and engage his Person for the Defence  
 “ of That Religion, and the Suppression of Popery?  
 “ to which he solemnly protested, in that Message,  
 “ never to grant a Toleration, upon what pretence  
 “ soever, or any abolition of any of the Laws There  
 “ in force against the Professors of it. And, he  
 “ said, when he considered the great calamities,  
 “ and unheard of cruelties, his poor Protestant Sub-  
 “ jects in that Kingdom had undergone for the space  
 “ of near, or full six Months; the growth and in-  
 “ crease of the strength of those barbarous Rebels;  
 “ and the evident probability of foreign supplies,  
 “ if they were not speedily suppressed; the very  
 “ slow succours hitherto sent them from hence: that  
 “ the Officers of several Regiments, who had long  
 “ time been allowed entertainment from them for  
 “ that Service, had not raised any supply, or suc-  
 “ cour for that Kingdom; that many Troops of  
 “ Horse had long lain near *Chester* untransported;  
 “ that the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, on whom  
 “ he relied principally for the conduct, and manag-  
 “ ing of Affairs there, was still in this Kingdom,  
 “ notwithstanding his Majesty’s earnestness expres-  
 “ sed, that he should repair to his Command: and  
 “ when he considered the many and great scandals  
 “ raised upon himself by report of the Rebels, and  
 “ not sufficiently discountenanced Here, notwith-

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“ standing so many professions of his Majesty; and  
 “ had seen a Book, lately printed by the Order of  
 “ the House of Commons, entitled a Remonstrance  
 “ of divers remarkable passages concerning the  
 “ Church and Kingdom of *Ireland*, wherein some  
 “ Examinations were set down (how improbable  
 “ or impossible soever) which might make an im-  
 “ pression in the minds of many of his weak Subjects:  
 “ And lastly, when he had duely weighed the dis-  
 “ honor that would perpetually lie upon this King-  
 “ dom, if full and speedy relief were not despatched  
 “ thither; his Majesty could not think of a better  
 “ way to discharge his Duty to Almighty God, for  
 “ the defence of the true Protestant Religion, or  
 “ to manifest his Affection to his three Kingdoms,  
 “ for their preservation, than by engaging his Per-  
 “ son in that expedition, as many of his Royal  
 “ Progenitors had done, even in Foreign Parts,  
 “ upon causes of Less importance and piety, with  
 “ great Honor to themselves, and Advantage to  
 “ this Kingdom. And therefore, he expected at least  
 “ Thanks for such his inclination.

“ For the danger to his Person, he said, he con-  
 “ ceived it necessary, and worthy of a King, to  
 “ adventure his Life to preserve his Kingdoms; nei-  
 “ ther could it be imagined that he would sit still,  
 “ and suffer his Kingdoms to be lost, and his good  
 “ Protestant Subjects to be Massacred, without ex-  
 “ posing his own Person to the utmost hazard for  
 “ their relief and preservation; his life, when it  
 “ was most pleasant, being nothing so precious to  
 “ him, as it was, and should be, to govern and pre-  
 “ serve his People with Honor, and justice.

“ For any encouragement to the Rebels, because  
“ of the Reports they raised, he said, he could not  
“ conceive, that the Rebels were capable of a greater  
“ terror, than by the Presence of their Lawful  
“ King, in the head of an Army, to chastise them.  
“ Besides, it would be an unspeakable advantage  
“ to them, if any report of Theirs could hinder  
“ him from doing any thing, which were fit for  
“ him to do, if such report were not raised: that  
“ would quickly teach them, in this Jealous age,  
“ to prevent, by such reports, any other Persons  
“ coming against them, whom they had no mind  
“ should be employed.

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“ He told them, that he marvelled, that the Ad-  
“ venturers, whose advantage was a principal mo-  
“ tive (next the reasons before mentioned) to him,  
“ should so much mistake his purpose; whose interest  
“ he conceived must be much improved by the  
“ expedition he hoped, by God’s blessing, to use  
“ in that Service; that being the most probable way  
“ for the speedy Conquest of the Rebels, their  
“ Lands were sufficiently secured by Act of Par-  
“ liament.

“ He told them, he thought himself not kindly  
“ used, that the addition of so few Men to their  
“ Levies (for a Guard to his Person in *Ireland*)  
“ should he thought fit for their refusal; and much  
“ more, that having used so many cautions in that  
“ Message, both in the smallness of the number; in  
“ his having raised none, until their Answer; in  
“ their being to be raised only near the place of ship-  
“ ping; in their being There to be armed, and that



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“ not till they were ready to be shipped; in the  
 “ provision, by the Oaths, that none of them should  
 “ be Papists (all which were sufficient to destroy  
 “ all grounds of Jealousy of any Force intended by  
 “ them in opposition to the Parliament, or favor  
 “ to any Malignant Party) any Suspicion should,  
 “ notwithstanding, be grounded upon it.

“ Neither, he said, could it be understood, that  
 “ when he recommended the managing of that War  
 “ to them, he intended to exclude Himself, or not  
 “ to be concerned in their Counsels, that if he found  
 “ any Expedient (which, in his conscience and  
 “ understanding, he thought necessary for that great  
 “ work) he might not put it in practice. He told  
 “ them, he looked upon them as his great Council,  
 “ whose advice he always had, and would, with  
 “ great regard and deliberation, weigh and consider:  
 “ but he looked upon himself as neither deprived  
 “ of his Understanding, or divested of any Right  
 “ he had, if there were no Parliament sitting. He  
 “ said, he called them together, by his own Writ  
 “ and Authority (without which they could not  
 “ have met) to give him faithful Counsel about his  
 “ Great Affairs; but he resigned not up his own  
 “ Interest, and Freedom; he never subjected himself  
 “ to Their absolute Determination; He had always  
 “ weighed their Counsels, as proceeding from a  
 “ Body intrusted by him; and when he had dissented  
 “ from them, he had returned them the reasons,  
 “ which had prevailed with his conscience and un-  
 “ derstanding, with that Condor, which a Prince  
 “ should use towards his Subjects, and that Affection,

“ which a Father could exprefs to his Children. B O O K  
“ What application had been used to rectify his V.  
“ Understanding by Reasons, or what Motives had  
“ been given to persuade his Affections, he would  
“ leave all the world to judge. And then, he said,  
“ he must tell them, howsoever a Major part might  
“ bind Them in matter of opinion, he held Himself  
“ (and he was sure the Law and Constitution of the  
“ Kingdom had always held the same) as free to  
“ dissent, till his Reason was convinced, for the  
“ General Good, as if they had delivered No  
“ opinion.

“ For his Journey itself, he told them the circum-  
“ stances of their Petition were such, as he knew  
“ not well what Answer to return, or whether he  
“ were best to give Any; that part which pretended  
“ to carry Reason with it, did no way satisfy him;  
“ the Other, which was rather Reprehension and  
“ Menace, than Advice, could not stagger him.  
“ His Answer therefore was, that he should be very  
“ glad to find the work of *Ireland* so easy, as they  
“ seemed to think it; which did not so appear by  
“ any thing known to him, when he sent his Mes-  
“ sage: and though he would never refuse, or be  
“ unwilling, to venture his Person, for the Good  
“ and Safety of his People, he was not so weary of  
“ his life, as to hazard it Impertinently; and there-  
“ fore, since they seemed to have received Adver-  
“ tisements of some late, and great successes in that  
“ Kingdom. he would stay some time to see the  
“ event of those, and not pursue his resolution till  
“ he had given them a Second notice: but, if he

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“ found the miserable condition of his poor Subjects  
 “ of that Kingdom were not speedily relieved, he  
 “ would, with God’s Assistance, visit them with  
 “ such Succours, as his Particular credit and interest  
 “ could supply him with, if They refused to Join  
 “ with him. And he doubted not but the Levies  
 “ he should make (in which he would observe  
 “ punctually the former, and all other cautions, as  
 “ might best prevent all Fears and Jealousies; and  
 “ to use no Power but what was Legal) would be  
 “ so much to the satisfaction of his Subjects, as no  
 “ person would dare presume to resist his Commands;  
 “ and if they should, at their Peril be it. In the  
 “ mean time, he hoped his forwardness, so remark-  
 “ able to that Service, should be notorious to all the  
 “ world; and that all scandals, laid on him in that  
 “ business, should be clearly wiped away.

“ He told them, he had been so careful that his  
 “ Journey into *Ireland* should not interrupt the pro-  
 “ ceedings of Parliament, nor deprive his Subjects  
 “ of any Acts of Justice, or further Acts of Grace  
 “ for the real benefit of his People, that he had made  
 “ a free offer of leaving such power behind, as should  
 “ not only be necessary for the Peace and Safety of  
 “ the Kingdom, but fully provide for the happy  
 “ progress of the Parliament: and therefore he could  
 “ not but wonder, since such power had been always  
 “ left here, by Commission, for the Government  
 “ of this Kingdom, when his Progenitors had been  
 “ out of the same, during the sitting of Parliaments;  
 “ and since Themselves desired that such a power  
 “ might be left here by his Majesty, at his last going  
 “ into

“ into *Scotland*; what Law of the Land they had  
 “ now found to dispense with them from submitting  
 “ to such Authority, legally derived from him, in  
 “ his absence; and to enable them to govern the  
 “ Kingdom by their Own mere Authority.

“ For his return to *London*, he said, he had given  
 “ them so full Answers in his late Declaration, and  
 “ Answers that he knew not what to add to if they  
 “ would not provide for his security with them,  
 “ nor agree to remove to another place, were there  
 “ might not be the same danger to his Majesty.  
 “ He told them, he expected, that (since he had  
 “ been so particular in the causes and grounds of  
 “ his Fears) they should have sent him word, that  
 “ they had published such Declarations against fu-  
 “ ture Tumults and unlawful Assemblies, and taken  
 “ such Courses for the suppressing seditious Pam-  
 “ phlets and Sermons, that his Fears of that kind  
 “ might be laid aside, before they should press his  
 “ return.

“ To conclude, he told them, he could wish,  
 “ that they would, with the same strictness and  
 “ severity, weigh and examine their Messages, and  
 “ Expressions To him, as they did those they re-  
 “ ceived From him. For he was very confident,  
 “ that if they examined his Rights and Privileges,  
 “ by what His Predecessors had enjoyed; and their  
 “ own Addresses, by the usual courses observed by  
 “ Their Ancestors; they would find many expres-  
 “ sions in that Petition, warranted only by their  
 “ own Authority; which indeed he forbore to take  
 “ notice of, or to give Answer to, lest he should



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“ be tempted, in a just indignation, to express a  
 “ greater passion, than he was Yet willing to put  
 “ on. God in his good time, he hoped, would so  
 “ inform the hearts of all his Subjects, that he should  
 “ recover from the mischief, and danger of that  
 “ distemper; on whose good pleasure, he said, he  
 “ would wait with all patience, and humility.”

From this time the purpose was never resumed, of his Majesty's personal expedition into *Ireland*, and so They were freed from that apprehension. The truth is, that Counsel for his Majesty's Journey into *Ireland* was very suddenly taken, and communicated to very few, without consideration of the objections, that would naturally arise against it; and was rather resolved as a probable Stratagem, to compose the two Houses to a better temper and sobriety, upon the Apprehension of the King's absence from them, and the inconveniencies that might thence insue, than sufficiently considered and digested for Execution. For none were more violent against it than they who served the King most faithfully in the Houses; who, in the King's absence, and after such a Grant of the Militia, as was then offered, looked upon themselves as sacrificed to the pride and fury of those, whose inclinations, and temper had begot the Confusions they complained of. But if it had been so duely weighed and consulted, and Men so disposed, that it might have been Executed, and the King had taken a fit Council, and Retinue about him, it would, at that time, have been no hard matter speedily to have reduced *Ireland*; and by the reputation, and authority of That, the other

two Kingdoms might have been contained within their proper bounds. But, as it fell out, the Overture proved Disadvantageous to the King, and gave the other Party New cause of Triumph, that they had plainly Threatened him out of what He pretended to have firmly resolved to do; which disadvantage was improved by the Other Proposition, that attended it, concerning the Militia. For the Bill, sent by the King upon that Argument, brought the business again into Debate; and, though nothing was concluded upon it, the King was a loser by the Proposition, though not so much as he feared he should have been, when he saw his Journey into *Ireland* desperate; upon the supposition of which, he had only made that tender.

The Bill sent by the King, and preferred to the House of Peers, by the Attorney General, granted the Militia, for one year, to the persons first nominated by the Houses in their Ordinances to his Majesty; and made those persons, in the Execution of that Trust, subject to the Authority of his Majesty, and the two Houses Jointly, whilst his Majesty was within the Kingdom; and, in his absence, of the two Houses Only. What alterations, and amendments they made in it before they returned it again for the Royal Assent, will best appear by the King's Answer, which he sent to them at the time of his refusal to pass it; which was,

“ That he had, with great deliberation and patience, weighed and considered (as it concerned him much to weigh the consequences of every Law before he passed it) their Bill lately sent to

His Majesty's  
Message to  
both Houses  
Apr. 28.  
1642. 608.

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V.  
cerning his  
refusal to  
pass the Bill  
for the Mi-  
litia.

“ him for the settling the Militia; and though it had  
“ not been usual to give any reason for the refusal  
“ to pass any Bill, it being absolutely in his power  
“ to pass, or not to pass any Act sent to him, if he  
“ conceived it prejudicial to himself, or inconvenient  
“ to his Subjects, for whom he was trusted, and  
“ must one day give an account; yet in that business  
“ of the Militia, which, being misunderstood amongst  
“ his good Subjects, had been used as an Argument,  
“ as if he were not Vigilant enough for the public  
“ safety, and lest he should be thought less Constant  
“ in his resolutions, and that Bill to be the same he  
“ had sent to them, he thought fit to give them,  
“ and all the world, particular satisfaction; why  
“ he Could not, Ought not, Must no pass That  
“ Bill, being the first public Bill he had refused this  
“ Parliament: and therefore, he told them, he must  
“ complain, that having expressed himself so clearly  
“ and particularly to them in that point, they  
“ should press any thing upon him, which they  
“ could not but foresee he must refuse; except he  
“ departed from those resolutions, grounded upon  
“ so much reason, he had so earnestly before ac-  
“ quainted them with, and against which they had  
“ not given one Argument to satisfy his judgment.  
“ He told them, he was pleased, they had de-  
“ clined the Unwarrantable course of their Ordi-  
“ nance (to the which, he was confident his good  
“ Subjects would never have yielded their consent)  
“ and chosen that only right way of imposing upon  
“ the People, which he would have allowed but  
“ for the Reasons following:

“ He said, he had refused to consent to their Ordinance, as for other things, so for that the power was put into the Persons Nominated therein by direction of both Houses of Parliament, excluding his Majesty from any power in the disposition, or execution of it together with them: He had then advised them, for many Reasons, that a Bill should be prepared; and after in his Answer of the 26<sup>th</sup> of *March* to the Petition of both Houses, he had told them, if such a Bill should be prepared with that due regard to his Majesty, and care of his People, in the limitation of the power, and other circumstances, he should recede from nothing he formerly expressed.

“ What passed (enough to have discouraged him from being further Sollicitous in that Argument) after his full, and gracious Answers, he was content to forget. When he resolved on his Journey into *Ireland*, so that by reason of his absence, there might be no want of settling that power; besides complying with their Fears; he sent, together with a Message of that his purpose, a Bill for settling the power for a Year; hoping in that time to return to them, and being sure that, in much less time, they might do the business, for which at first they seemed to desire this; which was, that they might securely consider his Message of the 20<sup>th</sup> of *January* last. By that Bill, which he sent, he consented to those Names they proposed to their Ordinance, and in the limitation of the power; provided, that himself should not be able to execute any thing but by their advice;



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“ and, when he should be out of the Kingdom, the  
 “ Sole Execution to be in Them; with many other  
 “ things, of so Arbitrary, and Uncircumscribed a  
 “ power, that he should not have consented to, but  
 “ with reference to the absence of his own Person  
 “ out of the Kingdom; and thought it the more  
 “ sufferable, in respect the time was but for a Year.  
 “ Whether that Bill, they had sent to him to pass,  
 “ were the same, the World would judge.

“ He said, they had, by that Bill tendered to his  
 “ Majesty, without taking notice of him, put the  
 “ Power of the whole Kingdom, the Life and Li-  
 “ berties of the Subjects of all degrees, and qualities,  
 “ into the hands of Particular Men, for two Years:  
 “ He asked them, if they could imagine he would  
 “ trust such an Absolute Power in the hands of  
 “ Particular Persons, which he had refused to  
 “ commit to both Houses of Parliament? Nay, if  
 “ the Power itself were not too Absolute, too Un-  
 “ limited to be committed into any Private Hands?  
 “ Whether Sir *John Hotham*’s high Insolence showed  
 “ him not, what he might expect from an Exor-  
 “ bitant Legal Power, when he, by a Power not  
 “ warrantable by Law, durst venture upon a Trea-  
 “ sonable disobedience? but his Majesty would  
 “ willingly know, and indeed such an account in  
 “ ordinary Civility, he said, he might have ex-  
 “ pected, why he was, by that Act, absolutely  
 “ Excluded, from any Power, or Authority, in  
 “ the Execution of the Militia. He said, sure their  
 “ fears and Jealousies were not of such a Nature,  
 “ as were capable of no other remedy, than by

“ leaving him no Power in a point of the greatest  
 “ Importance ; in which God , and the Law , had  
 “ trusted him Solely , and which he had been con-  
 “ tented to Share with them by his own Bill , by  
 “ putting it , and a Greater , into the hands of par-  
 “ ticular Subjects. He asked them , what all Christian  
 “ Princes would think of him , after he had passed ,  
 “ such a Bill ? How they would value his Sover-  
 “ eignty ? And yet , he said , sure His Reputation  
 “ with Foreign Princes was some ground of Their  
 “ Security. Nay , he was confident , by that time  
 “ they had thoroughly considered the possible con-  
 “ sequence of that Bill , upon Themselves , and the  
 “ rest of his good Subjects , they would All give him  
 “ Thanks for Not consenting to it ; finding their  
 “ condition , if it should have passed , would not  
 “ have been so pleasing to them. He told them , he  
 “ hoped that Animadversion would be no breach  
 “ of their Privileges. In that throng of business and  
 “ distemper of affections , it was possible , Second  
 “ thoughts might present somewhat to their con-  
 “ siderations , which escaped them before.

“ He remembered them , that he had passed a Bill ,  
 “ this Parliament , at their entreaty , concerning the  
 “ captives of *Algiers* , and waved many objections  
 “ of his own to the contrary , upon information that  
 “ the business had been many Months considered  
 “ by them ; whether it proved suitable to their in-  
 “ tentions , or whether they had not , by some  
 “ private Orders , suspended that Act of Parliament  
 “ upon view of the mistakes , Themselves best knew ;  
 “ as likewise , what other great Alterations they had

B O O K “ made upon other bills, passed this Session. He told  
 V. “ them, he could not pass over the putting Their  
 “ Names out of that Bill, whom before they had  
 “ recommended to him in their Ordinance, not  
 “ thinking fit, it seemed, to trust those who would  
 “ obey no Guide but the Law of the Land ( he  
 “ Imagined they would not wish he should in his  
 “ estimation of others follow that their Rule ) and  
 “ the leaving out, by special provision, the present  
 “ Lord Mayor of *London*, as a person in their dis-  
 “ favor; whereas, he said, he must tell them, his  
 “ demeanour had been such, that the City, and  
 “ the whole Kingdom, was beholden to him for  
 “ his example.

“ To conclude, he said, he did not find himself  
 “ possessed of such an Excess of power, that it was  
 “ fit to transfer, or consent it should be in other  
 “ Persons, as was directed by that Bill; and there-  
 “ fore, he should rely upon that Royal right and  
 “ jurisdiction, which God, and the Law had given  
 “ him, for the suppressing of Rebellion, and resisting  
 “ Foreign Invasion; which had preserved the King-  
 “ dom in the time of all his Ancestors, and which,  
 “ he doubted not, but he should be able to execute.  
 “ And, not more for his own honor and right, than  
 “ for the liberty and safety of his People, he could  
 “ not consent to pass that Bill.”

Though no sober man could deny the reasonable-  
 ness of that Answer, and that there was indeed so  
 great a difference between the Bill sent by his  
 Majesty, and that presented to him from the two  
 Houses, that it could not soberly be imagined he

would consent to it; yet, it had been better for his Majesty, that the first Overture from himself had never been made; it giving New life, spirit, and hopes to them; and they making the People believe (who understood not the difference, and knew not the King's pleasure, signified by both Houses of Parliament, was in effect the pleasure of both Houses without the King) that his Majesty now refused to consent to what himself had offered; whilst his own Party (for so those begun now to be called, who preserved their Duty, and Allegiance entire) was as much troubled to find so Sovereign a power of the Crown offered to be parted with to the two Houses, as was tendered to them by the King's own Bill; and that it was possible for his Majesty to recede from his firmest Resolves, even in a point, that would not naturally admit of the least division, or diminution.

The King, being well pleased that he had gone through one of his resolutions, and not much troubled at the anger it had produced, and finding his Court full of Persons of Quality of the Country, who made all expressions of affection and duty, which they thought would be most acceptable to him, resolved to undertake another enterprize, which was of more importance, and which in truth was the sole motive of his Journey into those parts. The great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition, which was left upon the disbanding the Army, remained still at *Hull*, and was a nobler proportion than remained in the Tower of *London*, or all other his Majesty's Stores; and there had been formerly a purpose to have

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V.



B O O K V. secured the same by the Earl of *Newcastle's* presence there, which had been disappointed, as hath been before mentioned, and Sir *John Hotham* sent thither to look to it: who was now there only with One of the Companies of the Trained bands; and so the King resolved that he would Himself make a Journey thither, with his own Usual Train; and being there, that he would stay there, till he had secured the place to him. This was his purpose; which he concealed to that degree, that very few about him knew any thing of it.

As soon as it was known that his Majesty meant to reside in *York*, it was easily suspected, that he had an eye upon That Magazine; and therefore they made an Order in both Houses, "that the Magazine should be removed from *Hull* to the Tower;" and Ships were making ready for the Transportation; so that his Majesty could no longer defer the execution of what he designed. And, being persuaded, by some who believed themselves, that if he went thither, it would neither be in Sir *John Hotham's* Will, nor his Power, to keep him out of that Town; and that, being possessed of so considerable a Post, and of the Magazine there, he should find, a better temper towards a Modest, and Dutiful Treaty; his Majesty took the opportunity of a Petition presented to him by the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire* (who in truth were much troubled at the Order for removing the Magazine from *Hull*; and were ready to appear in any thing for his Service) in which, "they desired him to cast his eye, and thoughts upon the safety of his own Person, and his Princely Issue, and

“ that whole County; a great means whereof, they  
“ said, did consist in the Arms, and Ammunition  
“ at *Hull*, placed there by his Princely care and  
“ charge; and since, upon general apprehensions of  
“ dangers from foreign parts, thought fit to be  
“ continued: and they did very earnestly beseech  
“ him, that he would take such course, that it might  
“ still remain there, for the better securing those,  
“ and the rest of the Northern parts.” Hereupon,  
he resolved to go thither Himself; and, the night  
before, he sent his Son the Duke of *York*, who was  
lately arrived from *Richmond*, accompanied with  
the Prince Elector, thither, with some other persons of  
Honor; who knew no more, than that it was a Journey  
given to the pleasure, and curiosity of the Duke.  
Sir *John Hotham* received them with that duty, and  
civility that became him. The next morning early,  
the King took Horse from *York*; and attended with  
two or three hundred of his Servants, and Gentleman  
of the Country, rode thither; and, when he came  
within a Mile of the Town, sent a Gentleman to  
Sir *John Hotham*, “ to let him know that the King  
“ would that day dine with him;” with which he  
was strangely surpris’d, or Seemed to be so.

The man was of a fearful, nature, and perplexed  
understanding; and could better resolve upon delibera-  
tion than on a sudden; and many were of opinion  
that if he had been prepared dextrously before hand,  
and in confidence, he would have conformed to the  
King’s pleasure; for he was master of a Noble fortune  
in Land, and rich in Money; of a very ancient Family,  
and well Allied; his Affections to the Government

BOOK very good ; and no man less desired to see the Nation  
 V. involved in a Civil War , than He : and , when he  
 accepted this employment from the Parliament , he  
 never imagined it would engage him in Rebellion ;  
 but believed , that the King would find it necessary  
 to comply with the Advice of his two Houses ; and  
 that the preserving that Magazine from being pos-  
 sessed by him , would likewise prevent any possi-  
 ble rupture into Arms. He was now in great confusion ;  
 and calling some of the chief Magistrates , and other  
 Officers together to consult , they persuaded him ,  
 not to suffer the King to enter into the Town. And  
 his Majesty coming within an hour after his Mes-  
 senger found the Gates shut , and the Bridges drawn ,  
 and the Walls manned ; all things being in readiness  
 for the reception of an Enemy. Sir *John Hotham* him-  
 self from the Walls , with several professions of Duty ,  
 and many expressions of Fear , telling his Majesty  
 “ that he durst not open the Gates , being intrusted  
 “ by the Parliament ; ” the King told him , “ that he  
 “ believed he had no Order from the Parliament  
 “ to shut the Gates against him , or to keep him out  
 “ of the Town.” He replied , “ that his train was so  
 “ great , that if it were admitted , he should not be  
 “ able to give a good account of the Town.” Where-  
 upon the King offered “ to enter with twenty Horse  
 “ only , and that the rest should stay without.” The  
 which the Other refusing , the King desired him “ to  
 “ come to him , that he might confer with him ,  
 “ upon his Princely word of safety , and liberty to  
 “ return.” And when he excused himself likewise from  
 That , his Majesty told him , “ that as this Act of

“ his was unparalleled, so it would produce some  
 “ notable Effect; that it was not possible for him  
 “ to sit down by such an Indignity, but that he would  
 “ immediately Proclaim him Traitor, and proceed  
 “ against him as such; that this disobedience of  
 “ his would probably bring many miseries upon  
 “ the Kingdom, and much loss of Blood; all  
 “ which might be prevented, if he performed the  
 “ duty of a Subject; and therefore advised him to  
 “ think sadly of it, and to prevent the necessary  
 “ growth of so many Calamities, which must lie all  
 “ upon His Conscience.” The Gentleman, with  
 much distraction in his looks, talked confusedly of  
 the “ Trust he had from the Parliament;” then fell  
 on his knees, and wished, “ that God would bring  
 “ Confusion upon Him, and His, if he were not a  
 “ Loyal and Faithful Subject to his Majesty; but,  
 “ in conclusion, plainly denied to suffer his Majesty  
 “ to come into the Town.” Whereupon, the King  
 caused him immediately to be proclaimed a Traitor;  
 which the Other received with some expressions of  
 Undutifulness and Contempt. And so the King,  
 after the Duke of *York*, and the Prince Elector, with  
 their Retinue, were come out of the Town, where  
 they were kept some hours, was forced to retire that  
 night to *Beverly*, four miles from that place; and the  
 next day returned to *York*, full of Trouble, and In-  
 dignation for the Affront he had received; which  
 He foresaw would produce a very great deal of  
 Mischief.

The King sent an Express to the two Houses with a The King's  
 Message, declaring what had passed; and “ that Message to the



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V.

two Houses  
concerning  
Hull.

“ Sir *John Hotham* had justified his Treason and Disloyalty, by pretence of an Order and Trust from Them; which as He could not Produce, so, his Majesty was confident, They would not Own; but would be highly sensible of the Scandal he had laid upon Them, as well as of his Disloyalty to his Majesty. And therefore, he demanded Justice of them against him, according to Law.” The Houses had heard before of the King’s going out of *York* thither, and were in terrible apprehension that he had possessed himself of the Town; and that Sir *John Hotham* (for they were not confident of him, as of a man of their own faith) by Promises or Menaces, had given up the Place to him; and, with this apprehension, they were exceedingly Dejected; but when they heard the truth, and found that *Hull* was still in their hands, they were equally Exalted, magnifying their trusty Governor’s faith, and fidelity Against the King. In the meantime, the Gentlemen of the North expressed a marvellous sense and passion on his Majesty’s behalf; and offered to raise the Force of the County to take the Town by force. But the King chose, for many Reasons, to send again to the Houses another Message in which he told them;

His Majesty’s  
second Mes-  
sage to the  
two Houses  
concerning  
Hull.

“ That He was so much concerned in the undutiful Affront (an Indignity all his good Subjects must disdain in his behalf) he had received from Sir *John Hotham* at *Hull*, that he was impatient till he received Justice from them; and was compelled to call again for an Answer, being confident, however they had been so careful, though without

" his consent, to put a Garrison into that his Town,  
 " to secure it, and his Magazine, against any Attempt  
 " of the Papists, that they never intended to dispose,  
 " and maintain it against Him, their Sovereign.  
 " Therefore, he required them forthwith (for the  
 " business would admit no delay) to take some  
 " Speedy course, that his said Town and Magazine  
 " might be immediately delivered up unto him; and  
 " that such severe exemplary proceedings should  
 " be against those Persons, who had offered that in-  
 " supportable Affront and Injury to him, as by the  
 " Law was provided: and, till that should be done,  
 " he would intend no business whatsoever, other  
 " than the business of *Ireland*. For, he said, if he  
 " were brought into a condition so much worse than  
 " any of his Subjects, that, whilst They all enjoyed  
 " their Privileges, and might not have their Pos-  
 " sessions disturbed, or their Titles questioned,  
 " He only might be spoiled, thrown out of his  
 " Towns, and his Goods taken from him, it was  
 " time to examine how he had lost those Privileges;  
 " and to try all possible ways, by the help of God,  
 " the Law of the Land, and the Affection of his  
 " good Subjects to recover them, and to vindicate  
 " himself from those Injuries; and, if he should  
 " miscarry therein, he should be the first Prince of  
 " this Kingdom, which had done so, having no  
 " other end but to defend the true Protestant Reli-  
 " gion, the Law of the Land, and the liberty of  
 " the Subject; and he desired God so to deal with  
 " him, as he continued in those Resolutions."

Instead of any Answer to his Majesty upon these

**B O O K** two Messages, or sadly considering how this breach  
**V.** might be made up, they immediately publish (together with a declaration of their former jealousies of the Papists; of the Malignant Party; of the Lord *Digby's* Letter intercepted; of the Earl of *Newcastle's* being sent thither, upon which they had first sent down a Governor, and put a Garrison into *Hull*) several Votes and Resolutions, by which they Declared.

“ That Sir *John Hotham* had done nothing but  
 “ in obedience to the Command of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, and that the Declaring of him a Trai-  
 “ tor, being a Member of the House of Commons,  
 “ was a high breach of the Privilege of Parliament,  
 “ and being without due process of Law, was against  
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, and against the Law  
 “ of the Land.”

And hearing at the same time, that a Letter coming from *Hull* to them the night after the King's being there, had been intercepted by some of his Majesty's Servants, they declared “that all such intercepting  
 “ of any Letters sent to Them, was a high breach  
 “ of the Privilege of Parliament, which by the Laws  
 “ of the Kingdom, and the Protestation, they were  
 “ bound to defend with their Lives, and their Fortunes, and to bring the Violator thereof to condign Punishment.” Then they ordered, that the Sheriffs, and Justices of the Peace of the Counties of *York*, and *Lincoln*, and all others his Majesty's Officers, should suppress all Forces, that should be raised or gathered together in those Counties, either to force the Town of *Hull*, or stop the passages to,  
 and

and from the same, or in any other way to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. All which Votes, Orders, and Declarations, being printed, and diligently dispersed throughout the Kingdom before any Address made to his Majesty in Answer of his Messages, and coming to his View, the King published an Answer to those Votes and Declarations, in which he said:

“ Since his gracious Messages to both Houses of Parliament, demanding Justice for the high and unheard of Affront offered unto him, at the Gates of *Hull*, by Sir *John Hotham*, were not thought worthy of an Answer; but that instead thereof, they had thought fit, by their printed Votes, to own and avow that unparalleled Act to be done in obedience to the Command of both Houses of Parliament (though at that time he could produce no such Command) and, with other Resolutions against his proceedings there, to publish a Declaration concerning that business, as an Appeal to the People, and as if their intercourse with his Majesty, and for his satisfaction, were now to no more purpose; though he knew that Course of theirs to be very unsuitable to the modesty, and duty of Former times, and unwarrantable by any Precedent, but what Themselves had made; yet, he was not unwilling to join issue with them in That way, and to let all the world know, how necessary, just, and Lawful all his proceedings had been in that point, and that the Defence of those proceedings, was the Defence of the Law of the Land, of the Liberty, and Property of the

B O O K  
V.  
His Majesty's  
Answer to the  
Declarations,  
and Votes  
concerning  
*Hull*.



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v.

" Subject; and that by the same Rule of Justice  
 " which was now offered to him, all the Private  
 " interest, and Title of all his good Subjects to all  
 " their Lands and Goods, was confounded and de-  
 " stroyed. He remembered them, that Mr. *Pym*  
 " had said in his Speech against the Earl of *Strafford*  
 " ( which was published by Order of the Commons  
 " House ) the Law is the safeguard, the Custody of  
 " all private Interest, your Honors, your Lives,  
 " your Liberties, and Estates are all in the keeping  
 " of the Law; without this every Man hath a like  
 " Right to any thing. And he said, he would fain  
 " be Answered what Title any Subject of his King-  
 " dom had to his House and Land, that He had not  
 " to his Town of *Hull*? Or what right any Subject  
 " had to his Money, Plate, or Jewels, that his  
 " Majesty had not to his Magazine, and Munition  
 " there? If he had ever such a Title, he said he  
 " would know, when he Lost it? And if that Ma-  
 " gazine and Munition, bought with his own  
 " money, were ever His, when and how that Pro-  
 " perty went out of him? He very well knew the  
 " great and unlimited power of a Parliament; but  
 " he knew as well, that it was only in that sense,  
 " as He was a Part of that Parliament; without Him,  
 " and against His consent, the Votes of either or  
 " both Houses together, must not, could not,  
 " should not (if he could help it, for his Subjects  
 " sake, as well as his own) forbid any thing that  
 " was enjoined by the Law, or enjoin any thing  
 " that was forbidden by the Law. But in any such  
 " alteration, which might be for the Peace, and

“ Happiness of the Kingdom, he had not, should B O O K  
 “ not refuse, to consent. And he doubted not, V.  
 “ but that all his good Subjects would easily discern,  
 “ in what a miserable Insecurity and Confusion, they  
 “ must necessarily and inevitably be, if Descents  
 “ might be altered; Purchases voided; Assurances  
 “ and Conveyances cancelled; the Sovereign Legal  
 “ Authority despised, and resisted by Votes, or  
 “ Orders of Either, or both Houses. And this,  
 “ he said, he was sure, was his Case at *Hull*; and  
 “ as it was His this day, by the same Rule, it might  
 “ be Theirs to Morrow.

“ Against any desperate Design of the Papists, of  
 “ which they discoursed so much, he had sufficiently  
 “ expressed his Zeal, and Intentions; and should  
 “ be as forward to adventure his own Life, and  
 “ Fortune, to oppose any such designs as the meanest  
 “ Subject in his Kingdoms.

“ For the Malignant Party, he said, as the Law  
 “ had not, to his knowledge, defined their con-  
 “ dition, so Neither House had Presented them to  
 “ his Majesty, under such a Notion, as he might  
 “ well understand, Whom they intended; and he  
 “ should therefore only inquire after, and avoid  
 “ the Malignant Party, under the Character of per-  
 “ sons disaffected to the Peace, and Government  
 “ of the Kingdom, and such who, neglecting and  
 “ despising the Law of the Land, had given them-  
 “ selves other Rules to walk by, and so dispensed  
 “ with their Obedience to Authority; of Those  
 “ persons, as Destructive to the Common-wealth,  
 “ he should take all possible caution.

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“ Why any Letters intercepted from the Lord  
 “ *Digby*, wherein He mentioned a retreat to a place  
 “ of Safety, should hinder him from visiting his own  
 “ Fort, and how he had opposed any ways of  
 “ Accommodation with his Parliament, and what  
 “ ways, and Overtures had been offered in any way,  
 “ or like any desire of such Accommodation; or  
 “ whether his Message of the twentieth of *January*  
 “ last, so often in vain pressed by him, had not suf-  
 “ ficiently expressed his earnest desire of it, he said,  
 “ all the world should judge; neither was it in the  
 “ power of any Persons to incline him to take Arms  
 “ against his Parliament, and his good Subjects,  
 “ and miserably to embroil the Kingdom in Civil  
 “ Wars. He had given sufficient Evidence to the  
 “ world how much his Affections abhorred, and  
 “ how much his heart did bleed at, the apprehen-  
 “ sion of a Civil War. And, he said, God and the  
 “ World must judge, if his Care and Industry were  
 “ not, only to defend and protect the Liberty of  
 “ the Subject, the Law of the Kingdom, his own  
 “ just Rights (part of that Law) and his Honor  
 “ much more precious than his Life: and if, in op-  
 “ position to these, any Civil War should arise,  
 “ upon Whose account the Blood, and Destruction  
 “ that must follow, must be cast: God, and his own  
 “ Conscience, told him, that He was clear.

“ For Captain *Leg*'s being sent heretofore to *Hull*,  
 “ or for the Earl of *Newcastle*'s being sent thither by  
 “ his Warrant and Authority, he said, he had asked  
 “ a question long ago, in his Answer to both Hou-  
 “ ses concerning the Magazine at *Hull*, which, he

“ had cause to think, was not easy to be Answered; B O O R  
 “ Why the general Rumor of the design of Papists, V.  
 “ in the Northern Parts, should not be thought  
 “ sufficient ground for his Majesty to put such a  
 “ Person of Honor, Fortune, and unblemished Re-  
 “ putation, as the Earl of *Newcastle* was known to  
 “ be, into a Town and Fort of his own, where his  
 “ own Magazine lay; and yet the same Rumor be  
 “ warrant enough to commit the same Town and  
 “ Port, without his consent, to the hands of Sir  
 “ *John Hotham*, with such a power as was now too  
 “ well known, and understood? How his Refusal  
 “ to have that Magazine removed, upon the Peti-  
 “ tion of both Houses, could give any advantage  
 “ against him, to have it taken from him, and  
 “ whether it was a Refusal, all men would easily  
 “ understand, who read his Answer to that Petition;  
 “ to which, it had not yet been thought fit, to  
 “ make any Reply.

“ For the Condition of those Persons, who pre-  
 “ sented the Petition to him at *York* (whom that  
 “ Declaration called, some few ill Affected Persons  
 “ about the City of *York*) to continue the Magazine  
 “ at *Hull*; he said, he made no doubt, but that  
 “ Petition would appear to be attested, both in  
 “ Number, and Weight, by Persons of Honor and  
 “ Integrity, and much more conversant with the  
 “ Affections of the whole Country, than most of  
 “ those Petitions, which had been received with so  
 “ much Consent, and Approbation. And for the  
 “ Presumption of interposing Their advice, his Ma-  
 “ jesty the more wondered at that exception, when



BOOK V. “ such encouragement had been given, and Thanks  
 “ declared to Multitudes of mean, unknown People,  
 “ Apprentices, and Porters, who had accompanied  
 “ Petitions of very strange Natures.

“ For the manner of his going to *Hull*, he said,  
 “ he had clearly set forth the same, in his Message  
 “ to both Houses of that business; and for any In-  
 “ telligence given to Sir *John Hotham* of an intention  
 “ to deprive Him of his Life, as he knew there was  
 “ no such intention in him, having given him all  
 “ possible Assurance of the same, at his being there,  
 “ so he was confident, no such Intelligence was  
 “ given, or if it were, it was by some Villain, who  
 “ had nothing but Malice, or Design to fright him  
 “ from his due Obedience; and Sir *John Hotham*  
 “ had all the reason to assure himself, that his Life  
 “ would be in much more danger by refusing to  
 “ admit his King into his own Town and Fort, than  
 “ by yielding him that Obedience, which he owed  
 “ by his Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and  
 “ the Protestation, which he knew was due and  
 “ warrantable, by the Laws of the Land. For the  
 “ Number of his Attendants, though that could be  
 “ no Warrant for such a disobedience in a Subject,  
 “ he said, it was well known (as his Majesty had  
 “ expressed in his Message to both Houses, to which  
 “ Credit ought to have been given) that he offered  
 “ to go into the Town with twenty Horse only, his  
 “ whole Train being Unarmed; and whosoever  
 “ thought that too great an Attendance for his Ma-  
 “ jesty, and his two Sons, had sure an intention to  
 “ bring him to a meaner Retinue, than they would  
 “ yet avow.

“ Here then, he said, was his Case, of which all  
 “ the World should judge: his Majesty endea-  
 “ voured to visit a Town, and Fort of his own, where-  
 “ in his own Magazine lay; a Subject, in defiance  
 “ of him, shuts the Gates against him; with Armed  
 “ Men resists, denies, and opposes his Entrance;  
 “ tells him, in plain terms, he should not come in.  
 “ He said, he did not pretend to understand much  
 “ Law, yet, in the point of Treason, he had much  
 “ Learning taught him this Parliament; and if the  
 “ sense of the Statute of the 25<sup>th</sup> Year of *Edward* the  
 “ III. *Chap.* 2. were not very differing from the  
 “ Letter, Sir *John Hotham's* Act was no less than  
 “ plain High-Treason: and he had been contemp-  
 “ tibly stupid, if he had after all those circumstances  
 “ of Grace and Favor then showed to him, made  
 “ any scruple to proclaim him Traitor. And whether  
 “ he were so, or no, if he would render himself,  
 “ his Majesty would require no other Trial, than  
 “ that which the Law had appointed to every Subject,  
 “ and which he was confident he had not, in the  
 “ least degree, violated in those proceedings; no  
 “ more than he had done the Privilege of Parlia-  
 “ ment, by endeavouring, in a just way, to chal-  
 “ lenge his Own unquestionable Privileges. So that  
 “ in such a Case, the declaring him Traitor, being  
 “ a Member of the House of Commons, without  
 “ process of Law, should be a breach of Privilege  
 “ of Parliament (of which he was sure none extended  
 “ to Treason, Felony, or breach of Peace) against  
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, or against the Law  
 “ of the Land, he must have Other Reasons than

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“ bare Votes. He said, he would know if Sir  
 “ *John Hotham* had, with the Forces by which he  
 “ kept him out of his Town of *Hull*, pursued him to  
 “ the Gates of *York*, which he might as legally have  
 “ done, whether his Majesty must have stayed from  
 “ declaring him Traitor till Process of Law might  
 “ have issued against him? Would Fears and  
 “ Jealousies dispense with necessary, and real Forms?  
 “ And must his Majesty, when actual War is levied  
 “ upon him, observe Forms which the Law it-  
 “ self doth not injoin? The Case, he said, was  
 “ truly stated, let all the World judge (unless the  
 “ mere sitting of a Parliament did suspend all  
 “ Laws, and his Majesty was the only Person in  
 “ *England* against whom Treason could not be com-  
 “ mitted) Where the fault was; and whatsoever  
 “ course he should be driven to for the Vindication  
 “ of that his Privilege, and for the Recovery and  
 “ Maintenance of his known undoubted Rights, he  
 “ doth promise, in the presence of Almighty God,  
 “ and as he hopes for his Blessing in his Success, that  
 “ he would, to the utmost of his power, defend and  
 “ maintain the true Protestant profession, the Law  
 “ of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and the  
 “ just Privilege, and Freedom of Parliament.

“ For the Order of Assistance given to the Comi-  
 “ tees of both Houses, concerning their going to  
 “ *Hull* he said, he should say no more, but that  
 “ those Persons, named in that Order, he presumed,  
 “ would give no Commands, or his good Subjects  
 “ Obey other, than what were warranted by the  
 “ Law (how large and unlimited soever the Direc-

“ tions are , or the Instructions might be ) for to that  
 “ Rule he should apply his own Actions, and by it,  
 “ require an Account from other Men ; and that all  
 “ his good Subjects might the better know their duty  
 “ in matters of this Nature, he wished them care-  
 “ fully to peruse the Statute of the 11<sup>th</sup> Year of King  
 “ *Henry VII. Ch. 1.* He said, he would conclude  
 “ with Mr. *Pym's* own words, If the Prerogative  
 “ of the King overwhelm the Liberty of the People,  
 “ it will be turned to Tyranny ; if Liberty under-  
 “ mine the Prerogative, it would grow into Anar-  
 “ chy, and so into Confusion.”

Besides their Declaration, Votes, and Orders in the justification of Sir *John Hotham*, for his better Encouragement, and for a ground of his Son's residence at *Hull*, in whom they had in truth a firmer Confidence than in the Father, they Ordered, That if, by any Force or Accident, Sir *John Hotham* should lose his Life, or Otherwise die in that Service ; that his Son should succeed him in the Government ;” and having thus declared themselves, they thought fit at last to send some particular Answer to the King upon that business ; which they were the rather inclined to do, that under that pretence, they might send down a Committee of their own to reside at *York* ; whereby they might receive constant Animadversions of what happened, and what was designed, and their Friends, and Dependants in that large, Populous, and Rich County, be the better confirmed in their Affections, and Devotions to them ; and, to that purpose, they sent down the

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**B O O K** Lord Howard of Eſſerigg, the Lord Fairfax, Sir Hugh  
**V.** Cholmly (a faſt friend to Sir John Hotham) Sir Philip  
 Stapleton, who had likewiſe married Hotham's  
 Daughter, and Sir Henry Cholmly, who preſented  
 their Answer in writing to his Maſteſty; the which,  
 being of a Mould unuſual, and a Dialect higher  
 and rougher than even themſelves had yet uſed, I  
 have thought fit to infer in the ſame words it was  
 delivered; thus.

*The moſt humble Answer of the Lords and Commons  
 in Parliament to two Meſſages from your Sacred  
 Maſteſty concerning Sir John Hotham's reſuſal to  
 give your Maſteſty entrance into the Town of  
 Hull.*

The Answer  
 of the Lords,  
 and Com-  
 mons to his  
 Maſteſty's  
 two Meſſages  
 concerning  
 Hull.

“ Your Maſteſty may be pleaſed to underſtand,  
 “ that We, your Great Council, finding manifold  
 “ evidences of the wicked Counſels, and Practices  
 “ of ſome in near Truſt, and Authority about You,  
 “ to put the Kingdom into a Combution, by draw-  
 “ ing your Maſteſty into places of ſtrength, remote  
 “ from your Parliament, and by exciting your  
 “ People to Commotions, under pretence of Serving  
 “ your Maſteſty againſt your Parliament, leſt this  
 “ Malignant Party, by the advantage of the Town,  
 “ and Magazine at Hull, ſhould be enabled to go  
 “ through with their miſchievous Intentions, did,  
 “ in diſcharge of the great Truſt that lies upon us,  
 “ and by that Power which in Caſes of this Nature  
 “ reſides in us, Command the Town of Hull to be  
 “ ſecured by a Garrifon of the adjoining Trained-  
 “ bands, under the Government of Sir John Hotham;

“ requiring him to keep the same for the Service of  
 “ your Majesty and the Kingdom: wherein We  
 “ have done nothing contrary to your Royal Sove-  
 “ reignty in that Town, or Legal Propriety in the  
 “ Magazine.

“ Upon consideration of Sir *John Hotham's* pro-  
 “ ceeding at your Majesty's being there, We have,  
 “ upon very good ground, adjudged, that he could  
 “ not discharge the Trust, upon which, nor make  
 “ good the end, for which he was placed in the  
 “ Guard of that Town and Magazine, if he had  
 “ let in your Majesty with such Counsellors, and  
 “ Company as were then about you.

“ Wherefore, upon full Resolution of both Houses,  
 “ We have declared Sir *John Hotham* to be clear  
 “ from that odious Crime of Treason; and have  
 “ avowed, that he hath therein done nothing but  
 “ in obedience to the Command of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament; assuring ourselves that, upon mature  
 “ Deliberation, your Majesty will not interpret his  
 “ obedience to such Authority to be an Affront to  
 “ your Majesty, or to be of that Nature, as to  
 “ require any Justice to be done upon him, or  
 “ satisfaction to be made to your Majesty, but  
 “ that you will see just cause of joining with your  
 “ Parliament, in preserving and securing the  
 “ Peace of the Kingdom; suppressing this wicked  
 “ and Malignant Party; who, by false colors, and  
 “ pretensions of maintaining your Majesty's Prero-  
 “ gative against the Parliament (wherein they fully  
 “ agree with the Rebels in *Ireland*) have been the  
 “ causes of all our Distempers, and Dangers.

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“ For prevention whereof We know no better  
 “ remedy, than settling the Militia of the Kingdom,  
 “ according to the Bill, which We have sent your  
 “ Majesty without any intention of deserting, or  
 “ declining the validity, or observance of that Ordi-  
 “ nance, which past both Houses, upon your Ma-  
 “ jesty’s former refusal: but We still hold, that  
 “ Ordinance to be effectual by the Laws of this  
 “ Kingdom. And We shall be exceeding glad, if  
 “ your Majesty by approving these our just, duti-  
 “ ful, and necessary proceedings, shall be pleased to  
 “ entertain such Counsel, as We assure ourselves,  
 “ by God’s blessing, will prove very advantageous  
 “ for the Honor, and Greatness of your Majesty;  
 “ the Safety, and Peace of your People; amongst  
 “ which, We know none more likely to produce  
 “ such good effects, than a Declaration from your  
 “ Majesty of your purpose to lay aside all thoughts  
 “ of going into *Ireland*, and to make a speedy return  
 “ into these parts, to be near your Parliament.  
 “ Which as it is our most humble desire, and earnest  
 “ Petition, so shall it be seconded with our most  
 “ dutiful Care for the Safety of your Royal Person,  
 “ and constant Prayers, that it may prove Honor-  
 “ able, and Successful, in the Happiness of your  
 “ Majesty, and all your Kingdoms.

To this Answer, with all formality delivered to  
 his Majesty by the Committee, the King returned  
 a quick Reply:

His Majesty’s  
 Reply.

“ That he had been in good hope, that the reason,  
 “ why they had so long deferred their Answer to  
 “ his Messages concerning *Hull*, had been, that

“ they might the better have given him satisfaction  
 “ therein, which now added the more to his Asto-  
 “ nishment, finding their Answer, after so long ad-  
 “ visement, to be of that nature, which could not  
 “ but rather increase, than diminish the present dis-  
 “ tractions, if constantly adhered to by the Parlia-  
 “ ment. He asked them, whether it was not too  
 “ much, that his Town of *Hull* had a Garrison put  
 “ into it, to the great charge of the Country, and  
 “ Inconvenience to the poor Inhabitants, without  
 “ His consent and approbation, under color at that  
 “ Time of Foreign Invasion, and Apprehensions  
 “ of the Popish Party; but that Now the reasons  
 “ thereof should be enlarged with Scandal to his  
 “ Majesty, and his faithful Servants, only to bring  
 “ in the more specious Pretext for the avowing Sir  
 “ *John Hotham's* Insolence, and Treason ?

“ He said, he had often heard of the great Trust,  
 “ that, by the Law of God and Man, was com-  
 “ mitted to the King for the Defence, and Safety  
 “ of his People ; but as yet he never understood,  
 “ what Trust or Power was committed to Either,  
 “ or Both Houses of Parliament, without the King;  
 “ They being summoned to Counsel, and Advise  
 “ the King. But by what Law or Authority, they  
 “ possess themselves of his Majesty's Right and In-  
 “ heritance, he was confident, that as they had not,  
 “ so they could not show. He told them, that he  
 “ had not hitherto given the least interruption to  
 “ Public Justice; but They, rather than suffer  
 “ One of their Members, to come so much as to  
 “ a legal Trial for the highest Crime, would make



B O O K “ use of an Order of Parliament to countenance  
 V. “ Treason, by declaring him free from that guilt,  
 “ which all former Ages never accounted other;  
 “ and that without so much as inquiring the opi-  
 “ nion of the Judges; for he was confident, they  
 “ would have mentioned their opinion, if they had  
 “ asked it.

“ Therefore he expected, that upon further,  
 “ and better consideration of the great, and necessary  
 “ consequence of the business of *Hull*, and seriously  
 “ weighing, how much it did concern the Peace,  
 “ and Quiet of the Kingdom, They would without  
 “ further Instance from his Majesty, give him full,  
 “ and speedy Justice against Sir *John Hotham*. And,  
 “ he said, he would leave all his good People to  
 “ think, what hope of Justice there was left for  
 “ Them, when they Refused, or Delayed to give  
 “ their own Sovereign satisfaction. And, as he had  
 “ already said, till that should be done, he would  
 “ intend no business whatsoever other than that  
 “ of *Ireland*.

“ And he said, he likewise expected that They  
 “ would not put the Militia in execution, until  
 “ they could show him by what Law they had  
 “ Authority to do the same, without His consent;  
 “ or if they did, he was confident, that he should  
 “ find much more obedience according to Law,  
 “ than they would do against Law. And he should  
 “ esteem all those, who should obey them therein,  
 “ to be disturbers of the Peace of the Kingdom;  
 “ and would, in due Season, call them to a Legal  
 “ account for the same.

“ Concerning his return, he told them, he never  
 “ heard that the flandering of a King’s Government,  
 “ and his faithful Servants, the refusing of him Justice,  
 “ and in a case of Treason, and the seeking to take  
 “ away his undoubted and Legal Authority, under  
 “ the pretence of putting the Kingdom into a posture  
 “ of Defence, were Arguments to induce a King  
 “ to come near, or hearken to his Parliament.

The King despatched this Answer the sooner, that  
 the Country might be freed from the Impression,  
 the Presence and Activity of the Committee made  
 in them; but when he delivered it to them, and  
 required them to make all convenient haste with it  
 to the Houses, they told him, “ They would send  
 “ it by an Express, but that themselves were  
 “ required, and appointed still to reside at *York*.”  
 The King told them, “ that he liked not such Super-  
 “ visors near him, and wished them to be very  
 “ careful in their carriage; that the Country was  
 “ visibly Then very well affected; and if he found  
 “ any declension, he well knew to Whom to impute  
 “ it; and should be compelled to proceed in another  
 “ manner against them, than, with reference to their  
 “ Persons” (for they were all then reputed Moderate  
 Men, and had not been thought disaffected to the  
 Government of Church, or State) “ he should be  
 “ willing to do. They Answered with a fullen  
 “ confidence, that they should demean themselves  
 “ according to their Instructions, and would per-  
 “ form the Trust reposed in them by the two  
 “ Houses of Parliament.” Yet such was the ticklish-  
 ness of the King’s condition, that, though it was

**B O O K** most Evident that their coming, and staying there  
**V.** was to pervert, and corrupt the Loyalty, and Affections of those parts, and to infuse into them Inclinations contrary to their Allegiance, it was not thought Counfelable at that time, either to commit them to Prison, or to expel them from that City, or to inhibit them the freedom of his own Court, and Prefence; and so they continued. for the fpace of above a Month, in *York*, even in defiance of the King.

The Militia was the Argument, which They found made deepeft impreffion in the People, being totally ignorant what it was, or what the confequence of it might be; and fo believing whatfoever They told them concerning it. And therefore they Refolved to drive that Nail home; and though, for want of their Imminent Danger, and during the time of the King's Treaty, and Overture of a Bill, they had forbore the execution of their Ordinance; yet the frequent Mufters of Volunteers without Order, almoft in all Countries, by the bare Authority of their Votes, gave them fufficient Evidence how open the People were to their Commands; at leaft how unprepared Authority was to refift, and oppofe them: and therefore, after the King had difplaced their two Favorites, and refufed to pafs the Bill for the Militia, and Sir *John Hotham* had refufed to let the King come into the Town of *Hull*, and They had Juftified him for fo doing, they prepared a Declaration concerning the whole State of the Militia, as the Refolution of the Lords and Commons upon that matter; in which they faid;

That

" That holding it necessary for the Peace, and  
 " Safety of the Kingdom, to settle the Militia there-  
 " of they had, for that purpose, prepared an Or-  
 " dinance of Parliament, and with all humility had  
 " presented the same to his Majesty for his Royal  
 " Assent. Who, notwithstanding the faithful Advice  
 " of his Parliament, and the several Reasons of-  
 " fered by them, of the necessity thereof for the  
 " securing of his Majesty's Person, and the Peace  
 " and Safety of his People, did refuse to give his  
 " Consent; and thereupon, they were necessitated,  
 " in discharge of the Trust reposed in Them, as the  
 " Representative Body of the Kingdom, to make an  
 " Ordinance, by the Authority of both Houses, to  
 " settle the Militia, warranted thereunto by the  
 " Fundamental Laws of the Land: that his Majesty,  
 " taking notice thereof, did, by several Messages,  
 " invite them to settle the same by Act of Parliament;  
 " affirming in his Message sent in Answer to the  
 " Petition of both Houses, presented to his Majesty  
 " at *York, March 26<sup>th</sup>* that he always thought it  
 " necessary the same should be settled, and that he  
 " never denied the Thing, only denied the Way;  
 " and for the Matter of it, took exception only to  
 " the preface, as a thing not standing with his Honor  
 " to consent to; and that Himself was excluded in  
 " the Execution, and for a time Unlimited: where-  
 " upon the Lords and Commons, being desirous to  
 " give his Majesty all satisfaction that might be,  
 " even to the least Tittle of Form and Circumstances,  
 " when his Majesty had pleased to offer them a Bill  
 " ready drawn, had, for no other cause, than to

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The Declara-  
 tion of the two  
 Houses about  
 the Militia  
 May 5-1642.



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“ manifest their hearty Affection to comply with his Majesty’s desires, and obtain his consent, entertained the same, in the mean time no way declining their Ordinance; and to express their earnest Zeal to correspond with his Majesty’s desires (in all things that might consist with the Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom, and the Trust reposed in them) did pass that Bill, and therein omitted the Preamble inserted before the Ordinance; limited the time to less than two years; and confined the Authority of the Lieutenants to these three particulars namely Rebellion, Insurrection, and Foreign Invasion; and returned the same to his Majesty for his Royal Assent: but all these expressions of Affection and Loyalty, all those desires, and earnest endeavours to comply with his Majesty, had, to their great grief and sorrow, produced no better Effects than an absolute denial, even of that which his Majesty by his former Messages, as they conceived, had promised: the Advice of evil and wicked Councils receiving still more Credit with him, than that of his Great Council of Parliament in a matter of so high Importance, that the Safety of his Kingdom, and Peace of his People, depended upon it.

“ But now, what must be the exceptions to that Bill? Not any sure that were to the Ordinance, for a care had been taken to give satisfaction in all those particulars. Then the Exception was, because that the disposing and execution thereof was referred to both Houses of Parliament, and his Majesty Excluded; and Now that, by the Bill,

the Power and Execution was ascertained, and  
 reduced to particulars, and the Law of the Realm  
 made the Rule thereof, his Majesty would not  
 trust the Persons. The power was too great, too  
 Unlimited, to trust them with. But what was that  
 Power? Was it any other, but, in express terms,  
 to suppress Rebellion, Insurrection, and Foreign  
 Invasion? And who were those Persons? Were  
 not they such as were nominated by the Great  
 Council of the Kingdom, and Assented to by his  
 Majesty? And was it too Great a Power, to trust  
 Those Persons with the suppression of Rebellion,  
 Insurrection, and Foreign, invasion? Surely,  
 they said, the most wicked of them who advised  
 his Majesty to that Answer, could not suggest,  
 but that it was necessary for the safety of his Ma-  
 jesty's Royal Person, and the Peace of the King-  
 dom, such a power should be put in Some hands;  
 and there was no pretence for exception to the  
 Persons. They said, his Majesty had, for the  
 space of above fifteen years together, not thought  
 a power, far exceeding That, to be too Great to  
 intrust particular Persons with, to whose Will the  
 Lives, and Liberties of his People, by Martial  
 Laws, were made Subject; for such was the power  
 given Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants,  
 in every County of this Kingdom, and that with-  
 out the consent of the People, or Authority of Law.  
 But now in case of Extreme Necessity, upon the  
 advice of both Houses of Parliament, for no longer  
 space than two years, a Lesser power, and that for  
 the safety of King and People, was thought too

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“ Great to trust particular Persons with, though  
 “ named by both Houses of Parliament, and ap-  
 “ proved by his Majesty Himself: and surely, if  
 “ there were a necessity to settle the Militia  
 “ (which his Majesty was pleased to confess) the  
 “ Persons could not be intrusted with Less power  
 “ than that, to have it at all Effectual. And the Pre-  
 “ cedents of former Ages, when there happened a  
 “ Necessity to raise such a Power, never straitened  
 “ that Power to a narrower compass; witness the  
 “ Commissions of Array in several Kings’ Reigns,  
 “ and often issued out by the Consent, and Authority  
 “ of Parliament.

“ The Lords and Commons therefore, intrusted  
 “ with the safety of the Kingdom, and peace of the  
 “ People) which, they called God to witness, was  
 “ their only aim) finding themselves denied those  
 “ their so necessary and just Demands, and that they  
 “ could never be discharged before God or Man, if  
 “ they should suffer the safety of the Kingdom, and  
 “ peace of the People, to be exposed to the malice  
 “ of the Malignant Party at home, or the Fury of  
 “ Enemies abroad: and knowing no other way to  
 “ encounter the imminent, and approaching danger,  
 “ but by putting the People into a fit posture of  
 “ defence, did Resolve to put their said Ordinance  
 “ in present execution; and did require all persons  
 “ in Authority, by virtue of the said Ordinance,  
 “ forthwith to put the same in execution, and all  
 “ others to obey it, according to the Fundamental  
 “ Laws of the Kingdom in such cases, as they  
 “ tendered the upholding of the True Protestant

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“ Religion, the Safety of his Majesty’s Person,  
 “ and his Royal Posterity, the Peace of the Kingdom,  
 “ and the Being of this Common-wealth.” This  
 Declaration (being in Answer to a Message from  
 his Majesty) was Printed, and, with the usual care  
 and dexterity, dispersed throughout the Kingdom,  
 without so much as sending it to the King; and there-  
 upon, Warrants and Directions issued into all parts,  
 for the exercising the Militia.

This being the first Declaration they had in plain  
 terms published against the King, without ever  
 communicating it, or presenting it to him, as they  
 had done all the rest, his Majesty was the more  
 troubled how to take notice of it, but conceiving it  
 necessary to apply some Antidote to this Poison, the  
 violent operation whereof he had reason to apprehend,  
 he published a Declaration by way of Answer  
 to that Declaration, in which he said:

“ That he very well understood, how much it was  
 “ below the High and Royal Dignity (wherein God  
 “ had placed him) to take notice of, much more to  
 “ trouble himself with Answering those many scan-  
 “ dalous, seditious Pamphlets, and Printed Papers,  
 “ which were scattered, with such great licence  
 “ throughout the Kingdom (notwithstanding  
 “ his Majesty’s earnest desire, so often in vain  
 “ pressed, for a Reformation) though he found it  
 “ evident, that the minds of many of his weak  
 “ Subjects, had been, and still were poisoned by those  
 “ means; and that so general a terror had possessed  
 “ the minds and hearts of all men, that whilst the  
 “ Presses swarmed with, and every day produced,

The King’s  
 Declaration in  
 Answer to the  
 fore going De-  
 claration.



BOOK V. “ new Tracts against the established Government  
 “ of the Church and State, most men wanted the  
 “ Courage or the Conscience to write, or the oppor-  
 “ tunity and Encouragement to publish such com-  
 “ posed, sober Animadversions, as might either  
 “ preserve the minds of his good Subjects from such  
 “ infection, or restore and recover them, when they  
 “ were so infected: but, his Majesty said, he was  
 “ contented to let himself fall to any Office, that  
 “ might undeceive his People, and to take more  
 “ pains that way by his Own Pen, than even King  
 “ had done, when he found any thing that seemed  
 “ to carry the Reputation, and Authority of either,  
 “ or Both Houses of Parliament, and would not  
 “ have the same refuted, and disputed by Vulgar  
 “ and Common Pens, till he should be thoroughly  
 “ informed whether those Acts had in truth that  
 “ Countenance and Warrant, they pretend: which  
 “ regard of his, his Majesty doubted not but, in  
 “ time, would recover that due Reverence (the  
 “ absence whereof he had too much reason to com-  
 “ plain of) to his Person and his Messages, which  
 “ in all Ages had been paid, and, no doubt, was  
 “ due to the Crown of *England*

“ He said, he had therefore taken notice of a  
 “ Printed Paper, entitled a Declaration of both  
 “ Houses, in Answer to his last Message concerning  
 “ the Militia, published by Command; the which  
 “ he was unwilling to believe (both for the matter of  
 “ it, the expressions in it, and the manner of publish-  
 “ ing it) could result from the consent of both Hou-  
 “ ses; neither did his Majesty know by what Lawful

“ command, such Uncomely, Irreverent mention  
 “ of Him could be published to the world: And,  
 “ though Declarations of that kind had of late, with  
 “ to much boldness, broken in upon his Majesty,  
 “ and the whole Kingdom, when one, or both  
 “ Houses had thought fit to communicate their Coun-  
 “ sels, and Resolutions to the People; yet, he said,  
 “ he was unwilling to believe, that such a Declara-  
 “ tion as that could be published in answer to his  
 “ Message, without vouchsafing at least to send it  
 “ to his Majesty as their Answer. Their business,  
 “ for which they were met by his Writ and Autho-  
 “ rity, being to Counsel him for the good of his  
 “ People, not to Write against him to his People;  
 “ nor had any consent of his Majesty for their long  
 “ continuing together enabled them to do any thing,  
 “ but what they were first summoned by his Writ to  
 “ do. At least he would believe, though misunder-  
 “ standing and jealousy (the Justice of God, he said,  
 “ would overtake the Fomenters of that jealousy,  
 “ and the Promoters and Contrivers of that misunder-  
 “ standing) might produce, to say no worse, those  
 “ very Untoward expressions, that if those Houses  
 “ had contrived that Declaration as an Answer to his  
 “ Message, they would have vouchsafed some  
 “ Answer to the Questions proposed in his, which,  
 “ he professed, did, and must evidently prevail  
 “ over his understanding; and in their Wisdom and  
 “ Gravity, they would have been sure to have  
 “ stated the matters of Fact, as (at least to ordinary  
 “ understandings) might be unquestionable; neither  
 “ of which was done by that Declaration.

BOOK

V.

“ His Majesty desired to know, why he was by that Act absolutely excluded from any Power, or Authority in the execution of the Militia; and, he said, he must appeal to all the world, whether such an Attempt, were not a greater and juster ground for Fear and Jealousy in Him, than any one that was avowed for those Destructive Fears and Jealousies which were so publicly owned, almost to the ruin of the Kingdom. But his Majesty had been told, that he must not be jealous of his Great Council of both Houses of Parliament: He said, he was not, no more than they were of his Majesty, their King; and hitherto they had not avowed any Jealousy of, or Disaffection to his Person; but imputed all to his evil Counsellors, to a Malignant Party, that was not of Their minds; so his Majesty did (and, he said, he did it from his Soul) profess no Jealousy of his Parliament, but of some Turbulent, Seditious, and Ambitious Natures; which, being not so clearly discerned, might have an influence even upon the Actions of both Houses: and if that Declaration had passed by their consent (which he was not willing to believe) he said, it was not impossible, but that the apprehension of such Tumults, which had driven his Majesty from his City of *London*, for the safety of his Person, might make such an impression upon other men, not able to remove from the danger, to make them Consent, or not to own a Dissent, in matters not agreeable to their Conscience, or Understanding.

“ He said, he had mentioned, in that this Answer,

“ his dislike of putting Their Names out of the Bill,  
 “ whom before they recommended to his Majesty,  
 “ in their pretended Ordinance, and the leaving out,  
 “ by special Provision, the present Lord Mayor of  
 “ London; to all which the Declaration afforded no  
 “ Answer; and therefore he could not suppose it  
 “ was intended for an Answer to that his Message,  
 “ which whosoever looked upon, would find to  
 “ be in no degree Answered by that Declaration;  
 “ but it informed all his Majesty’s Subjects, after  
 “ the mention with what humility the Ordinance  
 “ was prepared, and presented to his Majesty (a  
 “ matter very evident in the Petitions, and Mes-  
 “ sages concerning it) and his refusal to give his  
 “ consent, notwithstanding the several reasons of-  
 “ fered, of the necessity thereof for the securing of  
 “ his Person, and the Peace and Safety of his People  
 “ (whether any such reasons were given, the weight  
 “ of them, and whether they were not clearly and  
 “ candidly Answered by his Majesty, the World  
 “ would easily judge) that they were at last neces-  
 “ sitated to make an Ordinance by Authority of both  
 “ Houses, to settle the Militia, warranted thereunto  
 “ by the Fundamental Laws of the Land. But, his  
 “ Majesty said, if that Declaration had indeed in-  
 “ tended to have Answered him, it would have told  
 “ his good Subjects what those Fundamental Laws  
 “ of the Land were, and where to be found; and  
 “ would, at least, have mentioned one Ordinance,  
 “ from the first beginning of Parliaments to this  
 “ present Parliament, which endeavoured to impose  
 “ any thing upon the Subject without the King’s



BOOK V. “ Consent; for of such, he said, all the inquiry he  
 “ could make could never produce him one Instance.  
 “ And if there were such a Secret of the Law, which  
 “ had lain hid from the beginning of the world to  
 “ that time, and Now was discovered to take away  
 “ the Just, Legal Power of the King, he wished  
 “ there were not some Other Secret (to be disco-  
 “ vered when they pleased) for the ruin, and de-  
 “ struction of the Liberty of the Subject. For, he  
 “ said, there was no doubt if the Votes of both  
 “ Houses had any such Authority to make a New  
 “ Law, it had the same Authority to repeal the  
 “ Old; and then, what would become of the long  
 “ established Rights and Liberties of the King and  
 “ Subject, and particularly of *Magna Charta*, would  
 “ be easily discerned by the most ordinary Under-  
 “ standing.

“ He said, it was true, that he had (out of ten-  
 “ derness of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and  
 “ care of the Law, which he was bound to defend,  
 “ and being most assured of the unjustifiableness of  
 “ the pretended Ordinance) invited, and desired  
 “ both Houses of Parliament to settle whatsoever  
 “ should be fit of that nature by Act of Parliament.  
 “ But was he therefore obliged to pass whatsoever  
 “ should be brought to him of that kind? He did  
 “ say in his Answer to the Petition of both Houses  
 “ presented to him at *York* the 26<sup>th</sup> of *March* last  
 “ (and he had said the same in other Messages be-  
 “ fore) that he always thought it necessary that the  
 “ business of the Militia should be settled, and that  
 “ he never denied the Thing, only denied the Way;

“ and he said the same still; and that since the many  
“ Disputes and Votes, upon Lords Lieutenants and  
“ their Commissions (which had not been begun by  
“ his Majesty, nor his Father) had so discountenan-  
“ ced that Authority, which for many years to-  
“ gether was happily looked upon with reverence,  
“ and obedience by the People, his Majesty did  
“ think it very necessary, that some wholesome Law  
“ should be provided for that Business; but he had  
“ declared in his Answer to the pretended Ordinance,  
“ that he expected, that the necessary Power should  
“ be first invested in his Majesty, before he con-  
“ sented to transfer it to other men; neither could  
“ it ever be imagined that he would consent that  
“ a greater Power should be in the hands of a Subject,  
“ than he was thought worthy to be trusted with  
“ Himself. And if it should not be thought fit to  
“ make a new Act or Declaration in the point of  
“ the Militia, he doubted not, but he should be  
“ able to grant such Commissions as should very  
“ legally enable those he trusted, to do all Offices  
“ for the peace and quiet of the Kingdom, if any  
“ disturbance should happen.

“ But it was said, he had been pleased to offer  
“ them a Bill ready drawn, and that They, to ex-  
“ press their earnest Zeal to correspond with his  
“ desire did pass that Bill; and yet all that expression  
“ of Affection and Loyalty, all that earnest desire of  
“ theirs to comply with his Majesty, produced no  
“ better effect than an absolute denial, even of what  
“ by his former Messages his Majesty had promised;  
“ and so that Declaration, he said, proceeded,

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“ under the pretence of mentioning evil and wicked  
 “ Councils, to censure and reproach his Majesty in  
 “ a Dialect, that, he was confident, his good Subjects  
 “ would read, on his behalf, with much Indignation.  
 “ But his Majesty said, sure if that Declaration had  
 “ passed the examination of both Houses of Par-  
 “ liament, they would never have affirmed, that  
 “ the Bill he had refused to pass, was the same he  
 “ had sent to them, or have thought that his Mes-  
 “ sage, wherein the difference, and contrariety  
 “ between the two Bills, was so particularly set  
 “ down, would be Answered with the bare Averring  
 “ them to be one, and the same Bill: nor would  
 “ they have declared, when his exceptions to the  
 “ Ordinance, and the Bill, were so notoriously  
 “ known to all, that care being taken to give satis-  
 “ faction in all the particulars he had excepted against  
 “ in the Ordinance, he had found New exceptions  
 “ to the Bill; and yet that very Declaration con-  
 “ fessed, that his exception to the Ordinance was,  
 “ that, in the disposing and execution thereof, his  
 “ Majesty was Excluded: and was not that an ex-  
 “ press reason, in his Answer for his refusal of the  
 “ Bill; which that Declaration would needs confute?  
 “ But the Power was no other than to suppress  
 “ Rebellion, Insurrection, and Foreign Invasion;  
 “ and the Persons trusted, no other than such as  
 “ were nominated by the Great Council of the  
 “ Kingdom, and assented to by his Majesty: and  
 “ they asked, if that were too Great a power to  
 “ trust those Persons with? Indeed, his Majesty  
 “ said, whilst so great Liberty was used in Voting,

“ and Declaring men to be Enemies to the Common-wealth (a phrase his Majesty scarce understood) and in censuring men for their Service, and Attendance upon his Majesty’s Person, and in his lawful Commands, great heed must be taken into what hands he committed such a power to suppress Insurrection, and Rebellion; and if Insurrection and Rebellion had found other Definitions than what the Law had given, his Majesty must be sure that no Lawful power should Justify those Definitions: and if there were Learning found out to make Sir *John Hotham’s* taking Arms against him, and keeping his Majesty’s Town and Fort from him, to be no Treason or Rebellion, he knew not whether a new Discovery might not find it Rebellion in his Majesty to Defend Himself from such Arms, and to endeavour to recover what was so taken from him; and therefore, he said, it concerned him, till the known Laws of the Land were allowed to be Judge between them, to take heed into what hands he committed such power.

“ Besides, he asked, whether it could be thought, that because he was willing to trust certain Persons, that he was obliged to trust them in Whatsoever they were willing to be trusted? He said, no Private hands were fit for such a Trust; neither had he departed from any thing, in the least degree, he had offered or promised before; though He might with as much reason have withdrawn his Trust from some Persons, whom before he had accepted, as They had done from others,

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“ whom they had recommended. For the power  
 “ which he was charged to have committed to particular persons, for the space of fifteen years, by  
 “ his Commissions of Lieutenancy, it was notoriously  
 “ known that it was not a power created by his  
 “ Majesty, but continued very many years, and in  
 “ the most happy times this Kingdom had enjoyed,  
 “ even those of his renowned Predecessors, Queen  
 “ *Elizabeth*, and his Father of happy memory: and  
 “ whatever Authority had been granted by those  
 “ Commissions, which had been kept in the old  
 “ forms, the same was determinable at his Majesty’s  
 “ pleasure; and he knew not, that they produced  
 “ any of those Calamities, which might give his  
 “ good Subjects cause to be so weary of them, as  
 “ to run the hazard of so much Mischief, as that  
 “ Bill, which he had refused, might possibly have  
 “ produced.

“ For the Precedents of former Ages in the Commissions of Array, his Majesty doubted not, but  
 “ when any such had issued out, that the King’s  
 “ consent was always obtained, and the Commissions  
 “ determinable at His pleasure; and then what the  
 “ extent of Power was. would be nothing applicable to that Case of the Ordinance.

“ But whether that Declaration had refuted his  
 “ Majesty’s reasons for his refusal to pass the Bill,  
 “ or no, it resolved, and required all persons in  
 “ Authority thereby to put the Ordinance in present execution; and all Others to obey it according to the Fundamental Laws of the Land. But, his  
 “ Majesty said, He, whom God had trusted to

“ maintain and defend those Fundamental Laws,  
 “ which he hoped, God would bleſs to ſecure him, did  
 “ declare, that there was no Legal Power in Either,  
 “ or Both Houſes, upon any pretence whatſoever,  
 “ without his Maſteſty’s conſent, to Command any  
 “ part of the Militia of the Kingdom; nor had the  
 “ like ever been commanded by Either, or Both  
 “ Houſes, ſince the firſt foundation of the Laws of  
 “ the Land; and that the Execution of, or the  
 “ Obedience to that pretended Ordinance, was  
 “ againſt the Fundamental Laws of the Land, againſt  
 “ the Liberty of the Subject, and the Right of Par-  
 “ liaments, and a High Crime in any that ſhould  
 “ execute the ſame: and his Maſteſty did therefore  
 “ charge, and command all his loving Subjects of  
 “ what degree, or quality ſoever, upon their Al-  
 “ legiance, and as they tendered the peace of the  
 “ Kingdom, from thenceforth not to Muſter, Levy,  
 “ or Array, or Summon, or Warn any of the  
 “ Trained-bands to riſe, Muſter, or March, by  
 “ Virtue, or under Color, of that pretended Or-  
 “ dinance: and to that Declaration, and Command  
 “ of his Maſteſty’s, as he ſaid, he expected and re-  
 “ quired a full Submiſſion, and Obedience from all  
 “ his loving Subjects, upon their Allegiance, as they  
 “ would Answer the Contrary at their Perils, and  
 “ as they tendered the upholding of the True Pro-  
 “ teſtant Religion, the Safety of his Perſon, and  
 “ his Royal Poſterity, the Peace, and being of the  
 “ Kingdom.”

Notwithſtanding theſe ſharp Declarations (infallible  
 Symptoms of ſharper Actions) which were with equal

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diligence dispersed by either side among the People, save that the Agents for the Parliament took as much care to Suppress the King's, as to Publish their own, whereas the King's desire was that they might be both impartially read and examined, and to that purpose always caused those from the Parliament to be Printed with his own, They had the power and skill to persuade Men, who, but by that persuasion, could have been Seduced, and without Seducing of whom they could have made but a very sorry progress in mischief, " that all would be well; that they " were well assured that the King would, in the " end, yield to what they desired; at least, that " they should prevail for a good Part, if not for All, " and that there should be no War:" though themselves well knew, that the fire was too much kindled, to be extinguished without a flame, and made preparations accordingly. For the raising and procuring of Money (besides the vast Sums collected and contributed for *Ireland*, which they disbursed very leisurely, the Supplies for that Kingdom, notwithstanding the importunity and complaint from thence, being not despatched thither, both in quantity and quality, with that Expedition as was pretended) they sent out very strict Warrants for the gathering all those Sums of Money, which had been granted by any Bills of Subsidy, or Poll-Bill; in the collection of all which there had been great negligence, probably that They might have it the more at their own disposal in their Need; by which they now recovered great Sums into their hands. For the raising of Men (though it was not Yet time for them to avow the raising

raising an Army) besides the disposing the whole Kingdom to Subject themselves to their Ordinance of the Militia, and, by That, lifting in all places Companies of Volunteers, who would be ready when they were called they made more haste than they had done in the Levies of Men, both Horse and Foot, for the relief of *Ireland*, under Officers chosen or approved by Themselves; and proposed the raising of an Army apart, of six or eight thousand, under the Command of the Lord *Wharton* (a man very fast to them) for *Munster*, under the style of the Adventurers Army, and to have no dependance upon, nor be subject to, the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, but only to receive Orders from the two Houses, and from a Committee to be appointed by them, which should be always with that Army: but the King, easily discerning the consequence of that design, refused to grant such a Commission as they desired; so that they were forced to be content, only with the advantage of New Exclamations against the King, “for hindering the supplies for *Ireland*,” upon the occasion of his denial of that unreasonable Commission, and to proceed in their Levies the ordinary way; which they did, with great Expedition. To confirm and encourage the Factious and Schismatical Party of the Kingdom, which thought the pace towards the Reformation was not brisk, and furious enough, and was with great difficulty contained in so slow a March, They had, a little before, published a Declaration:

“ That they intended a due, and necessary Reformation of the Government, and Liturgy of the

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concerning a  
Reformation  
of the Liturgy

“ Church, and to take away nothing in the One or  
 “ the Other, but what should be Evil, and justly  
 “ Offensive, or at least Unnecessary, and Burdensome;  
 “ and, for the better effecting thereof, speedily to have  
 “ consultation with Godly and Learned Divines:  
 “ and, because that would never of itself attain the  
 “ end sought therein, they would therefore use their  
 “ utmost endeavours to establish Learned, and  
 “ Preaching Ministers, with a good and sufficient  
 “ maintenance throughout the whole Kingdom;  
 “ wherein many dark Corners were miserably desti-  
 “ tute of the means of Salvation, and many poor  
 “ Ministers wanted necessary provision.”

This Declaration, Printed, and appointed to be published by the Sheriffs in their several Counties, in all the Market-Towns-within the Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, was not more intended to the heartening of those who were impatient for a Reformation (who in truth had so implicit a Faith in their Leaders, that they expected another manner of Reformation than was publicly promised) than to the lulling those asleep, who begun to be awake with the apprehension of that confusion, they apprehended from the practice and licence, they saw practised against the received Government, and Doctrine of the Church; and to be persuaded, that it was time to oppose that Current. And, in this project, they were not disappointed; for though this warily worded Declaration was evidence enough to Wise men, that They intended, and Logically comprehended. an Alteration as great, as has been since attempted, and made; yet to Lazy and Quiet men, who could not discern

consequences, and were not willing to Antedate their B O O K  
miseries, by suspecting worse was to come than they V.  
felt, or saw in their View, their fears were much  
abated, and the intentions of the Parliament seemed  
not so bad, as they had been told by some that they  
were: and as this very Declaration of a due Reforma-  
tion to be made of the Government of the Church, and  
the Liturgy, would, a year before, have given  
great Umbrage and Scandal to the People, when,  
generally, there was a due submission to the Govern-  
ment, and a singular reverence of the Liturgy of the  
Church of *England*; so Now, when there was a  
General fear and apprehension inculcated into them,  
of a purpose utterly to subvert the Government, and  
utterly to abolish the Liturgy, they thought the  
taking away nothing in the One or the Other, but  
what should be Evil, and Justly offensive, or, at  
least, Unnecessary and Burdensome, was an easy  
Composition; and so, by degrees, they suffered  
themselves to be still prevailed on towards ends they  
extremely abhorred; and what at first seemed Pro-  
fane and Impious to them, in a little time appeared  
only Inconvenient; and what, in the beginning,  
they thought matter of Conscience and Religion,  
shortly after they looked upon, as somewhat rather  
to be Wished than positively Insisted on; and con-  
sequently not to be laid in the balance with the Public  
Peace, which they would imagine to be endangered  
by opposing the sense that then prevailed; and so,  
by Undervaluing many particulars (which they  
Truly esteemed) as rather to be consented to, than  
that the general should suffer, they Brought, or

B O O K Suffered the Public to be brought to all the sufferings it since underwent.

v.

The Assembly  
of Divines.

And now they showed what Consultation they meant to have with Godly and Learned Divines, and what Reformation they intended, by appointing the Knights and Burgeſſes to Bring in the Names of ſuch Divines for the ſeveral Counties, as they thought fit to conſtitute an Aſſembly for the framing a new Model for the Government of the Church, which was done accordingly; thoſe who were true Sons of the Church, not ſo much as endeavouring the Nomination of Sober, and Learned Men abhorring ſuch a Reformation, as begun with the Invaſion, and Suppreſſion of the Church's Rights in a Synod, as well known as *Magna Charta*: and if any well affected Member, not enough conſidering the ſcandal, and the conſequence of that Violation, did Name an Orthodox, and well reputed Divine, to aſſiſt in that Aſſembly, it was Argument enough againſt him, that he was Nominated by a Perſon in whom they had no Confidence; and They only had reputation enough to Commend to this Consultation, who were known to deſire the utter demolishing of the whole Fabric of the Church: ſo that of about one hundred and twenty, of which that Aſſembly was to conſiſt (though, by the recommendation of two or three Members of the Commons, whom they were not willing to diſpleaſe, and by the Authority of the Lords, who added a ſmall Number to thoſe named by the Houſe of Commons, a few very Reverend, and Worthy men were inſerted; yet of the whole Number) they were not above

Twenty, who were not declared, and avowed Enemies to the Doctrine, or Discipline of the Church of *England*; some of them infamous in their lives, and conversations; and most of them of very mean parts in Learning, if not of Scandalous Ignorance; and of no other reputation, than of malice to the Church of *England*; so that that Convention hath not Since produced any thing, that might not Then reasonably have been expected from it.

But that which gave greatest power, and strength to their growing Faction, was the severity they used against all those, of what Quality or degree soever, who opposed their Counsels, and Proceedings. If any Lord, who had any place of Honor, or Trust from the King, concurred not with them, they made an inquisition into the whole passages of his Life; and if they could find no Fault, or no Folly (for any Levity, or Indiscretion served for a Charge) to reproach him with, it was enough "that they could not Confide in him:" so they threatened the Earl of *Portland*, who with extraordinary vivacity crossed their Consultations, "that they would remove him from his Charge and Government of "the Isle of *Wight*" (which at last they did *de facto*, by committing him to Prison without so much as assigning a Cause) and to that purpose, objected all the Acts of good fellowship; all the waste of Powder; and all the waste of Wine, in the drinking of Healths; and other Acts of Jollity, whenever he had been at his Government, from the first hour of his entering upon it: so that the Least inconvenience a man in their Disfavor was to expect, was to have



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his Name and Reputation used, for two or three hours, in the House of Commons with what Licence and Virulency they pleased. None were persecuted with more rigor, than the Clergy; whereof whosoever publicly, or privately, censured their Actions, or suspected their Intentions, was either committed to prison, or compelled to a chargeable and long Attendance, as inconvenient as Imprisonment. And this measure of proceeding was Equally, if not with More animosity, applied to those, who, in former times, had been looked upon by that Party with most reverence. On the contrary, whoever Concurred, Voted, and Sided with them, in their extravagant conclusions, let the infamy of his Former life, or Present practice be what it would; his injustice and oppression never so scandalous, and notorious; He was received, countenanced, and protected with marvellous demonstrations of Affection: so that, between those that Loved them, and those that Feared them, those that did not love the Church, and those that did not love some Churchmen; those whom the Court had oppressed, and those who had helped the Court to oppress Others; those who feared their Power, and those who feared their Justice; their Party was grown over the Kingdom, but especially in the City, justly Formidable.

In the mean time, the King omitted no opportunity to provide against the Storm he saw was coming; and, though he might not Yet own the apprehension of that danger he really found himself in he neglected not the provision of what he thought most necessary for his defence; he caused all his

Declarations, Messages, and Answers, to be industriously communicated throughout his Dominions; of which he found good effects; and, by their reception, discovered that the People universally were not so irrecoverably poisoned, as he before had cause to fear: He caused private intimations to be given, and insinuations to be made to the Gentry "that Their presence would be acceptable to him;" and to those, who came to him, he used much gracious freedom, and expressed all possible demonstrations, that he was glad of their Attendance: so that, in a short time, the resort to *York* was very great; and, at least, a good face of a Court there.

Beyond the Seas, the Queen was as intent to do Her part; and to provide that so good Company, as she heard was daily gathered together about the King, should not be dissolved for want of Weapons to defend one another: and therefore, with as much secrecy, as could be used in those Cases, and in those places where she had so many Spies upon her, she caused, by the Sale or Pawning of her own, and some of the Crown-Jewels, a good quantity of Powder and Arms to be in a readiness in *Holland*, against the time that it should be found necessary to transport it to his Majesty: so that both Sides, whilst they entertained each other with discourses of Peace (which always carried a sharpness with them, that whetted their appetite to War) provided for that War, which they saw would not be prevented.

Hitherto the greatest Acts of Hostility, saving that at *Hull*, were performed by Votes, and Orders; for there was Yet no visible, formal execution of

B O O K V. the Ordinance for the Militia, in any one County of *England*: for the appearance of Volunteers in some fictitious Corporations was rather Countenanced, than positively Directed and Injoined by the Houses: and most places pretended an Authority, granted by the King in the Charters, by which those Corporations were erected, or constituted; but Now they thought it time to satisfy the King, and the People, that they were in Earnest (who were hardly persuaded, that they had in truth the courage to execute their own Ordinance) and Resolved, “that  
 “ on the tenth of *May*, they would have all the  
 “ Trained-bands of *London*, Mustered in the Fields,  
 “ where that exercise usually was performed;” and accordingly, on that day, their own new Officer, Serjeant-Major-General *Skippon*, appeared in *Finsbury* Fields, with all the Trained-bands of *London* consisting of above eight thousand Soldiers, disposed into six Regiments, and under such Captains and Colonels, as they had cause to Confide in. At this first triumphant Muster, the Members of both Houses appeared in gross; there being a Tent purposely set up for them, and an entertainment at the Charge of the City to the value of near a thousand pounds; all men presuming, that this example of *London*, with such ceremony and solemnity, would be easily followed throughout the Kingdom; and many believing, they had made no small progress towards the end they aimed at, by having engaged the very body of the City in a guilt equal to their own: for though they had before sufficient evidence of the Inclinations of the Mean, and Common people to

them, and reasonable assurance, that those in Authority would hardly be able to contain them; yet, till this day, they had no instance of the Concurrence of the City in an Act expressly Unlawful. But now they presumed all difficulties were over; and so sent their Directions to the Counties adjacent, speedily to execute the same Ordinance; and appointed all the Magazines of the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, to such Custody, as their Lord Lieutenants, or their Deputy Lieutenants should appoint; and that not only the Counties should increase those Magazines to what proportion soever they thought convenient, but that any private Persons, that were well affected, should supply themselves with what Arms and Ammunition they pleased. By which means, besides the King's Magazines, all which were in their possession, they caused great quantities of all sorts of Arms to be provided, and disposed to such places, and Persons, as they thought fittest to be trusted; especially in those factious Corporations, which had listed most Volunteers for their Service.

The King now saw the Storm coming apace upon him; that (notwithstanding his Proclamation published against the Ordinance of the Militia, in which he set down the Laws and Statutes, which were infringed thereby, and by which the execution of that Ordinance would be no less than High-Treason) the Votes, and Declaration of both Houses "that those Proclamations, were illegal, and that those Acts of Parliaments could not Control the Acts, and Orders of both Houses (which the Subjects were, by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom,



B O O K V. “to obey)” prevailed so far, that obedience was given to them; that he was so far from being like to have *Hull* restored to him that the Garrison there daily increased, and forced the County to submit to such Commands, as they pleased to lay on them; and that Sir *John Hotham* was more likely to be able to Take *York*, than his Majesty to Recover *Hull*; he thought it, therefore, high time, by Their example, to put himself into a posture of Defence; the danger being much more Imminent to his Majesty, than to those who had begot that Ordinance. Hereupon, at a public meeting of the County, his Majesty declared “that he was Resolved, in regard  
 “of the Public distempers, and the neighbourhood  
 “of *Hull*, to have a Guard for his Person; but of  
 “such Persons, and with such Circumstances, as  
 “should administer no occasion of Jealousy to the  
 “most Suspicious; and wished the Gentlemen of  
 “Quality, who attended, to consider, and advise  
 “of the way:” Who shortly after (notwithstanding the opposition given by the Committee, which still resided there; and the Factious Party of the County, which was inflamed, and governed by them) expressed a great alacrity to comply with his Majesty’s desire, in whatsoever should be proposed to them; and a sense, “that they thought a sufficient Guard  
 “was very necessary for the Security of his Majesty’s  
 “Person.” Hereupon, the King appointed such Gentlemen as were willing, to list themselves into a Troop of Horse, and made the Prince of *Wales* their Captain; and made choice of One Regiment of the Trained-bands, consisting of about six hundred,

whom he caused, every *Saturday*, to be paid at his own charge; when he had little more in his Coffers, than would defray the weekly Expence of his Table: and this Troop, with this Regiment, was the Guard of his Person; it being first declared by his Majesty, “that no Person should be suffered, either in the Troop, or the Regiment, who did not, before his Admission into the Service, take the Oaths of Allegiance, and Supremacy;” that so he might be free from the scandal of entertaining Papists for his Security.

But this caution would not serve; the Fears and Jealousies were capable of no other Remedies, than such as were prescribed by those Physicians, who were practised in the Disease. As soon as the Intelligence was arrived at *London*, “that the King actually had a Guard” (though the Circumstances were as well known that were used in the raising it) both Houses published these three Votes, and dispersed them:

1. “That it appeared, that the King, seduced by wicked Counsel, intended to make War against the Parliament; who, in all their Consultations and Actions, had proposed no other end unto themselves, but the care of his Kingdoms, and the performance of all Duty, and Loyalty to his Person.

2. “That whensoever the King maketh War upon the Parliament, it is a breach of the Trust reposed in him by his People; contrary to his Oath; and tending to the Dissolution of the Government.

3. “That whosoever should Serve him, or Assist

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“ him in such Wars, are Traitors by the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom; and have been so adjudged by two Acts of Parliament, 2. *Rich. II.* and 1. *Henr. IV.* and ought to suffer as Traitors.”

These lusty Votes they sent to the King to *York*, together with a short Petition, in which they told him.

The two  
Houses Peti-  
tion the King  
to Dissolve  
his Guards,  
May 23.  
1542.

“ That his Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Parliament did humbly represent unto his Majesty, that notwithstanding his frequent professions to his Parliament, and the Kingdom, that his desire, and intention was only the preserving the true Protestant profession, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of his People, and the Peace of the Kingdom; nevertheless, they perceived with great grief, by his Speech of the twelfth of *May*, and the Paper, printed in his Majesty’s Name, in the form of a Proclamation, bearing date the fourteenth of *May*, and other Evidences, that, under color of raising a Guard to secure his Person, of which Guard (considering the fidelity, and care of his Parliament) there could be no use, his Majesty did command Troops, both of Horse and Foot, to assemble at *York*; the very beginnings whereof were apprehended by the Inhabitants of that County to be an Affrightment, and Disturbance of his Liege People, as appeared by their Petition presented to him; the continuing; and increasing of which Forces, was to his Parliament, and must needs be, a just cause of great Jealousy, and Danger to his whole Kingdom.

“ Therefore, they did humbly beseech his Majesty  
 “ to Disband all such Forces, as, by his Command,  
 “ were assembled, and relying for his Security (as  
 “ his Predecessors had done) upon the Laws, and  
 “ Affections of his People, he would be pleased to  
 “ desist from any further designs of that nature,  
 “ contenting himself with his usual, and ordinary  
 “ Guards; otherwise, they should hold themselves  
 “ bound in duty towards God, and the Trust re-  
 “ posed in them by the People, and the Funda-  
 “ mental Laws, and Constitutions of the Kingdom,  
 “ to employ their care, and utmost power to secure  
 “ the Parliament, and to preserve the Peace, and  
 “ Quiet of the Kingdom.”

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To this Petition, delivered publicly, and read  
 with an equal confidence, by their Lieger Commit-  
 tee, his Majesty Answered.

“ That he could not but extremely wonder, that  
 “ the causeless Jealousies concerning his Majesty,  
 “ raised and fomented by a Malignant Party in  
 “ the Kingdom, which desired nothing more, than  
 “ to snatch to themselves Particular advantages out  
 “ of a general Combustion (which means of advan-  
 “ tage should never be ministered to them by His  
 “ fault, or seeking) should not be only able to seduce  
 “ a Weak Party in the Kingdom, but seem to find  
 “ so much Countenance even from both Houses,  
 “ as that his raising of a Guard, without further  
 “ design than for the safety of his Person, an Action  
 “ so legal, in a Manner so peaceable, upon Causes  
 “ so evident and necessary, should not only be  
 “ looked upon, and Petitioned against by them, as

His Majes-  
ty's An-  
swer.



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“ a cause of Jealousy; but declared to be raising of  
 “ a War against them, contrary to his former pro-  
 “ fessions of his care of Religion, and Law: and  
 “ he no less wondered, that That Action of his  
 “ should be said to be apprehended by the Inhabit-  
 “ ants of that County, as an Affrightment, and  
 “ Disturbance to his People, having been as well  
 “ Received there, as it was every where to be Justi-  
 “ fied; and (he spake of the general, not of a few  
 “ seduced Particulars) assisted, and sped by that  
 “ County, with that loyal Affection and Alacrity,  
 “ as was a most excellent example, set to the rest  
 “ of the Kingdom, of their care of his safety upon  
 “ all occasions; and should never be forgotten by  
 “ Him, nor, he hoped, by his Posterity: but should  
 “ be ever paid to them, in that, which is the  
 “ proper expression of a Prince’s gratitude, a per-  
 “ petual, vigilant care to govern them justly, and  
 “ to preserve the only Rule, by which they can be  
 “ so governed, the Law of the Land; and, he said,  
 “ he was confident, that, if they were Themselves  
 “ Eye-witnesses, they would so see the Contrary,  
 “ as to give little present Thanks, and, hereafter,  
 “ little Credit to their Informers; and, if they had  
 “ no better information, and intelligence of the  
 “ Inclinations, and Affections of the rest of the  
 “ Kingdom, certainly the minds of his People  
 “ (which to some Ends, and Purposes, they did  
 “ represent) were but ill represented unto them.

“ He asked them, when they had so many Months  
 “ together not contented themselves to rely for  
 “ security, as their Predecessors had done, upon

“ the Affection of the People, but by their own  
“ Single Authority had raised to themselves a Guard  
“ (and that sometimes of no ordinary Numbers, and  
“ in no ordinary Way ) and yet all those Pikes and  
“ Protestations, that Army, on One side, and that  
“ Navy, on the Other, had not persuaded his Ma-  
“ jesty to command them to disband their Forces,  
“ and to content themselves with their Ordinary,  
“ that was, No guard; or work in him an opinion  
“ that they appeared to levy War against him, or  
“ had any further design; how it was possible, that  
“ the same Persons should be so apt to suspect, and  
“ condemn his Majesty, who had been so unapt, in  
“ the Same matter, upon much More ground, to  
“ tax or suspect Them? This, he said, was his  
“ Case, notwithstanding the Care and Fidelity of  
“ his Parliament; his Fort was kept by armed men  
“ against him; his proper Goods first detained from  
“ him, and then, contrary to his command, by  
“ strong hand offered to be carried away; in which,  
“ at once, all his Property, as a Private person;  
“ all his Authority, as a King, was wrested from  
“ him, and yet for him to secure himself in a Legal  
“ way, that Sir *John Hotham* might not by the same  
“ Forces, or by more, raised by pretence of the  
“ same Authority (for he daily raised some, and it  
“ was no new thing for him to pretend orders,  
“ which he could not show ) continue the War that  
“ he had levied against his Majesty; and as well  
“ imprison his Person, as detain his Goods; and as  
“ well shut him up in *York*, as shut him out of *Hull*;  
“ was now said to be esteemed a cause of great

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“ Jealousy to the Parliament, a raising a War against  
 “ them, and of danger to the whole Kingdom :  
 “ whilst these Injustices, and Indignities offered to  
 “ him were countenanced by Them, who ought to  
 “ be most forward in his Vindication, and their  
 “ Punishment, in observation of their Oaths, and  
 “ Trust reposed in them by the People, and to  
 “ avoid the Dissolution of the present Government.  
 “ Upon which Case, he said, the whole world was  
 “ to judge, whether his Majesty had not reason,  
 “ not wholly to rely upon the Care, and Fidelity  
 “ of his Parliament, being so strangely blinded by  
 “ malignant spirits, as not to perceive his Injuries;  
 “ but to take some care of his own Person, and,  
 “ in order to that, to make use of that Authority,  
 “ which the Laws declared to be in his Majesty :  
 “ and, whether that Petition, with such a threat-  
 “ ening Conclusion, accompanied with more threat-  
 “ ening Votes, gave him not cause, rather to increase,  
 “ than to diminish his Guards; especially, since he  
 “ had seen, before the Petition, a printed Paper  
 “ dated the seventeenth of *May*, underwritten by  
 “ the Clerk of the House of Commons, comman-  
 “ ding in the name of both Lords and Commons,  
 “ the Sheriffs of all Counties to raise the power of  
 “ all those Counties, to suppress such of his Subjects,  
 “ as, by any of his Majesty’s commands, should be  
 “ drawn together, and put (as that Paper called it)  
 “ in a posture of War; charging all his Majesty’s  
 “ Officers, and Subjects to assist them in it, at their  
 “ Perils For though, he said, he could not suspect,  
 “ that That Paper; or any bare Votes, not grounded  
 upon

\* upon Law or Reason; or Quotations of repealed B O O K  
 " Statutes, as those were of the 2 *Rich.* II. and 1. *Hen.* v.  
 " iv. should have any ill influence upon his good  
 " People, who knew their duties too well not to  
 " know that to take up Arms against those, who,  
 " upon a Legal command of his Majesty, came  
 " together to a most Legal end ( that was, his Ma-  
 " jesty's security, and preservation) were to levy  
 " War against his Majesty; yet, if that Paper were  
 " really the Act of both Houses, he could not but  
 " look upon it, as the highest of Scorns and Indig-  
 " nities; First, to issue out Commands of Force  
 " against him; and, after those had appeared useless,  
 " to offer, by Petition, to persuade him to that  
 " which that Force should have effected.

" He said, he concluded his Answer to their  
 " Petition with his Counsel to them, that they  
 " would join with him in exacting satisfaction for  
 " that unparalleled, and Yet unpunished Action of  
 " Sir *John Hotham*; and that they would command  
 " his Fort, and Goods to be returned to his own  
 " hands: that they would lay down all pretences  
 " (under pretence of Necessity, or declaring what  
 " is Law) to make Laws without his Majesty. and,  
 " by consequence, but a Cipher of his Majesty:  
 " that they would declare effectually against Tu-  
 " mults, and call in such Pamphlets (punishing the  
 " Authors and Publishers of them) as seditiously  
 " endeavour to disable his Majesty from protecting  
 " his People, by weakening, by false Aspersions  
 " and new false Doctrines, His Authority with  
 " Them, and Their Confidence in Him: the par-



B O O K  
V.      " ticulars of which Tumults, and Pamphlets, he  
" said, he would long since have taken care, his  
" Learned Council should have been enabled to give  
" in evidence, if, upon his former offer, his Majesty  
" had received any return of encouragement from  
" them in it: and, he said, if they did That, they  
" would Then, and hardly till Then, persuade the  
" World, that they had discharged their duty to  
" God, the Trust reposed in them by the People,  
" and the Fundamental Laws, and Constitutions  
" of the Kingdom; and employed their care, and  
" utmost power, to secure the Parliament (for, he  
" said, He was still a part of the Parliament, and  
" should be, till this well tempered Monarchy was  
" turned to a Democracy) and to preserve the Peace  
" and Quiet of the Kingdom; which, together  
" with the Defence of the Protestant Religion, the  
" Laws of the Land, and his own just Prerogative  
" (as a part of, and a defence to those Laws) had  
" been the main End, which in his Consultations  
" and Actions, he had proposed to Himself."

It will be wondered at hereafter, that in a judging and discerning State, where Men had, or seemed to have, their faculties of reason, and understanding at the height; in a Kingdom Then unapt, and generally uninclined to War (how wantonly soever it hath Since seemed to throw away it's Peace) those Men, who had the skill and cunning, out of forward and peevish humors and indispositions to compound Fears and Jealousies, and to animate and inflame those Fears and Jealousies into the most prodigious, and the boldest Rebellion, that any Age,

or Country ever brought forth; who very well Saw, and Felt that the King had not only, to a degree, wound himself out of that Labyrinth, in which, four Months before, they had involved him, with their Privileges, Fears, and Jealousies; but had even so well informed the People, that they begun to question both their Logic and their Law, and to suspect, and censure the improvement, and gradation of their Fears, and the extent, and latitude of their Privileges; and that they were not only Denied by the King, what they required, but that the King's Reasons of His denial made very many conclude the Unreasonableness of Their demands: I say, it may seem strange, that these Men could entertain the hope, and confidence to obtrude such a Declaration, and Vote, upon the People, "that the King did intend to make War against the Parliament;" when they were so far from apprehending, that he would be able to get an Army to disturb them, that they were most assured, he would not be able to get Bread to sustain Himself three Months, without submitting all his Counsels to Their conduct, and control; and that the offering to impose it, did not awaken the People to an indignation, which might have confounded them: for, besides their Presumption in endeavouring to Search, what the Scripture itself told them was Unsearchable, the Heart of the King; the very Law of the Land, whose defence they pretended, makes no conclusion of the Intention of the meanest Subject, in a matter of the highest, and tenderest consideration, even Treason itself against the life of the

**B O O K** King, without some overt, unlawful Act, from  
**v.** whence, and other circumstances, the ill Intention may be Reasonably made appear; and therefore, to declare that the King intended to make War against his Parliament, when he had neither Ship, Harbour, Arms nor Money, and knew not how to get any of them, and when he offered to Grant any thing to them, which they could pretend a justifiable reason for Asking, was an undertaking of that Nature, that even the Almightyness of a Parliament might have despaired to succeed in.

But, notwithstanding all this, they very well knew What they did, and understood what infinite advantage that Vote would (as it did) bring to them; and, that a Natural way would never bring them to their Unnatural end. The power and reputation of Parliament, they believed, would Implicitly prevail over many; and amaze and terrify others from disputing, or censuring What they did, and upon what Grounds they did it. The difficulty was, to procure the judgment of Parliament; and to incline those different constitutions, and different affections, to such a Concurrence, as the judgment might not be discredited, by the Number of the Dissenters; nor wounded, or prejudged by the Reasons, and Arguments given against it: and then, their judgments of the Cure being to be grounded upon the nature, and information of the Disease, it was necessary to confine, and contract their fancies and opinions within some bounds, and limits: the mystery of Rebellion challenging the same encouragement with other Sciences, to grow by; that

there may be certain Postulata, some Principles and Foundations, upon which the main building may subsist. So, in the case of the Militia, an Imminent danger must be first Supposed, by which the Kingdom is in apparent hazard, and then the King's refusal to apply any remedy against that danger, before the two Houses would pretend to the power of disposing that Militia: it being too ridiculous to have pretended the natural and ordinary Jurisdiction over it: but, in case of danger, and danger so Imminent, that the Usual recourse would not serve the turn, and for the saving of a Kingdom, which must Otherwise be lost, many Good men thought it was reasonable to apply a very Extraordinary prevention, without imagining such a supposition might possibly engage them in any Action, contrary to their own Inclinations, and, without doubt, very many who frankly Voted that Imminent necessity, were induced to it, as an Argument, that the King should be therefore importuned to consent to the Settlement; which would not have appeared so necessary a Request, if the occasion had not been Important; never suspecting, that it would have been improved into an Argument to them, to adventure the doing it without the King's consent. And it is not here unseasonable (how merry soever it may seem to be) as an instance of the Incogitancy, and Inadvertency of those kind of Votes and Transactions, to remember that the first Resolution of the Power of the Militia being grounded upon a Supposition of an Imminent necessity, the Ordinance first sent up, from the Commons, to the Lords,



B O O K for the execution of the Militia, expressed an *eminent*  
 V. necessity; whereupon, some Lords, who understood the difference of the words, and that an *Eminent* necessity might be supplied by the ordinary provision, which, possibly, an *imminent* necessity might not safely attend, desired a Conference with the Commons, for the Amendment: which, I remember, was at last, with great difficulty, consented to: many (who, I presume, are not yet grown up to conceive the difference) supposing it an unnecessary contention for a Word, and so yielding to them, for saving of time, rather than dispute a thing which to Them seemed of no great moment.

They, who contrived this Scene, never doubted, but after a Resolution what was to be done upon a Supposed necessity, they should easily, when they found it Convenient, make that necessity Real. It was no hard matter to make the Fearful, apprehensive of Dangers; and the Jealous, of Designs; and they wanted not Evidence of all kinds; of Letters from abroad, and Discoveries at home, to make those apprehensions formidable enough; and then, though, Before the Resolution, there was a great latitude in Law and Reason, what was Lawfully to be done, they had Now forejudged themselves, and Resolved on the Proper remedy, except they would argue against the Evidence; which Usually would have been to discountenance, or undervalue some Person of notable reputation, or his Correspondence; and always to have opposed That that was of such an Allay, as, in truth, did operate

upon the Major part. So, in the Case upon which we now discourse, if they had, in the most advantageous Article of their fury, professed the raising an Army against the King, there was yet that reverence to Majesty, and that Spirit of Subjection and Allegiance in most Men, that they would have looked upon it with Opposition, and Horror: but Defensive Arms were more plausible Divinity, and if the King Should commit such an Outrage, as to levy War against his Parliament, to destroy the Religion, Laws, and Liberty of the Kingdom, Good men were persuaded, that such a resistance might be made, as might preserve the Whole; and he that would have argued against this Thesis, besides the Impertinency of arguing against a supposition, that was not like to be Real, and in which the Corrupt consideration of Safety seemed to bribe most Men, could never escape the censure of promoting Tyranny, and lawless Dominion. Then to incline Men to concur in the Declaration "of the King's Intention to make War against the Parliament," they were persuaded it might have a Good, and Could have no ill effect: the remedies, that were to be applied upon an Actual levying of War, were not justifiable upon the Intention; and the declaring this Intention, and the Dangers it carried with it to the King himself, and to all those who should assist him, would be a probable means of reforming such Intention, and preventing the Execution: Inconvenience it could produce none (for the disquieting, or displeasing the King was not thought Inconvenient) if there were no progress in the supposed

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Intention; if there were, it were fit the whole Kingdom should stand upon it's Guard, and not be Surprised to it's confusion.

By these false, and fallacious Mediums, the clearness of Men's understandings were dazzled; and, upon the matter, all their opinions, and judgments for the Future, captivated and pre-engaged by their own Votes, and Determinations. For, how easy a matter is it to make it appear to that man, who consented that the King Intended to make War against the Parliament, that when he should Do it, he had broken his Oath, and dissolved his Government; and, that whosoever should assist him were Traitors? I say, how easy was it to persuade That man, that he was obliged to defend the Parliament; to endeavour to uphold That Government; and to resist Those Traitors? and, whosoever considers that the nature of men, especially of men in Authority, is inclined rather to Commit two errors, than to Retract one, will not marvel, that from this Root of unadvisedness, so many, and tall Branches of mischief have proceeded. And therefore, it were to be wished, that those who have the honor to be trusted in Public Consultations, were indued with so much natural Logic, to discern the consequences of every public Act, and Conclusion; and with so much Conscience and Courage, to watch the First impressions upon their understanding and compliance: and that, neither out of the Impertinency of the thing, which men are all apt to conclude out of impatency of despatch; or out of Stratagem to make men Odious (as in this Parlia-

ment many forbore to oppose unreasonable resolutions, out of an opinion that they would make the contrivers Odious) or upon any other (though seeming never so Politic) considerations, they consent not to any Propositions, by which Truth or Justice are invaded. I am confident, with very good Warrant, that many men have, from their Souls, abhorred every Article of this Rebellion; and heartily deprecated the miseries, and desolation we have suffered by it, who have Themselves, with great alacrity and industry, contributed to, if not contrived, those very Votes and Conclusions, from whence the Evils they abhor, have most naturally and regularly flowed, and been deduced; and which they could not reasonably, upon their own concessions, contradict and oppose.

But to conclude, a man shall not unprofitably spend his contemplation, that, upon this occasion, considers the method of God's Justice (a method terribly remarkable in many Passages, and upon many Persons; which we shall be compelled to remember in this discourse) that the same Principles, and the same Application of those Principles, should be used to the wresting all Sovereign Power from the Crown, which the Crown had a little before made use of for the extending it's Authority, and Power, beyond it's bounds, to the prejudice of the just Rights of the Subject. A supposed Necessity was Then thought ground enough to create a Power, and a bare Averment of that Necessity, to beget a Practice to impose what Tax they thought convenient upon the Subject, by Writs of Ship-money



B O O K never before known; and a supposed Necessity now,  
 V. and a bare Averment of that Necessity, is as confidently, and more Fatally, concluded a good ground to exclude the Crown from the use of any Power, by an Ordinance never before heard of; and the same Maxim of *Salus populi Suprema Lex*, which had been used to the infringing the Liberty of the One, made use of for the destroying the Rights of the Other: only that of the Psalmist is yet Inverted; for many of those, who were the Principal makers of the first Pit, are so far falling into it, that they have been the chiefest Diggers of the second Ditch, in which so many have been confounded.

Though they had yet no real Apprehension, that the King would be able, in the least degree, to raise a Force against them, yet they were heartily enraged to find that he lived more like a King, than they wished he should; that there was so great resort to him from all parts; and that whereas little more than two Months before, his own Servants durst hardly avow the waiting on him, Now the chief Gentlemen of all Counties Travelled to him, to tender their Service; which implied a Disapprobation at least, if not a Contempt of the two Houses' carriage towards him. Therefore, to prevent this mischief, they easily found exception to, and information against, some Persons, who had resorted to *York*; whom they sent the Serjeant of the House of Commons to apprehend, and bring them before the House as Delinquents, to Answer such matters, as should be objected against them. In this Number there was one *Beckwith*, a Gentleman of *Yorkshire*,

who, as Sir *John Hotham* had sent them word, had endeavoured to corrupt some Officers of the Garrison to deliver *Hull* up to the King; this they declared to be a very heinous crime, and little less than High-Treason, and therefore concluded him a Delinquent, and to be sent for to attend them: it was thought strangely ridiculous by Standers by, that Sir *John Hotham* should be justified for keeping the Town against the King, and another Gentleman be Voted a Delinquent for designing to recover it to it's Allegiance; and that They, who, but few days before, when the King had sent a Warrant to require Serjeant-Major *Skippon* to attend his Majesty at *York*, Resolved, and published their Resolution in Print (as they did all things, which they conceived might diminish the Reputation of the King, or his Authority) "That such Command from his Majesty was against the Law of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject, and likewise (the Person being employed by Them to attend Their Service) against the Privilege of Parliament; and therefore, that their Serjeant-Major-General of the Forces of *London* (that was his Style) should continue to attend the Service of both Houses (according to their former Commands;" should expect that their Warrant should be submitted to by those, who were waiting on the King, whose known legal Authority, severed from any thing that might be understood to relate to the Parliament, or it's Privileges, they had so flatly contradicted and contemned, that the same day on which they redeemed their Officer *Skippon* from his Allegiance, and Duty of

**B O O K** going to the King, being informed, that the King  
**V.** had sent a Writ to Adjourn the Term (Midsummer Term) to *York* from *Westminster*, which, without all question, was in his power Legally to do, they declared, "That the King's removing of the Term " to *York* from *Westminster*, sitting the Parliament, " was illegal;" and Ordered, "that the Lord " Keeper should not issue out any Writs, or Seal " any Proclamation, to that purpose;" which was by him observed accordingly, notwithstanding the King's Command for the Adjournment.

When their Officer came to *York* for the apprehension of the Delinquents, he found the same neglect There of the Parliament, as was found Above of the King; and was so ill treated by those, whom he looked upon as his Prisoners, that, if the King's extraordinary provision had not been interposed, the Messenger would scarce have returned to have reported how uncurrent such Warrants were like to be in *York*, and how perilous such Voyages might prove to the Adventurers: But how amazed, or surprised soever they seemed to be with this new contradiction, it was no more than they looked for, for their Dilemma was, if their Messenger returned with his Prize, all the resort to, and all the glory of *York* was determined; for no Man would repair thither, from whence the bare Voting him a Delinquent would remove him with those other inconvenient Circumstances of Censure, and Imprisonment: if He returned neglected and affronted, as they presumed he would, they had a new Reproach for the King, " of protecting Delinquents against the

“ Justice of Parliament;” which would be a New breach of their Privileges, as Heinous and Unpopular, as had yet been made, and for the vindication whereof their Protestation would no less oblige them, than it had done on the behalf of the five Members. And such Votes they passed upon the return of their Officer; and had in readiness prepared two voluminous Declarations to the People, which they published about the same time; the One filled with all the reiterated Complaints, and envenomed repetitions, of what had been done, or been Thought to have been done amiss in the whole Reign of the King, to render his Person odious, or unacceptable; the Other undervaluing his Royal Power, and declaring against it, to make his Authority despised, at least not Feared.

The first was of the nineteenth of *May*, in which They declared,

“ That the infinite Mercy, and Providence of the Almighty God had been abundantly manifested, since the beginning of this Parliament, in great variety of Protections, and Blessings; where- by he had not only delivered Them from many wicked Plots and Designs, which, if they had taken effect, would have brought Ruin and Destruction upon the Kingdom; but, out of those Attempts, had produced divers evident and remarkable Advantages, to the furtherance of those Services, which they had been desirous to perform to their Sovereign Lord the King, and to the Church and State, in providing for the public Peace, and Prosperity of his Majesty, and all his Realms; which, in the presence of the same

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“ All-seeing Deity, they protested to have been, and  
“ still to be, the only End of all their Counsels and  
“ Endeavours; wherein they had Resolved to conti-  
“ nue freed, and enlarged from all Private aims,  
“ Personal respects, or Passions whatsoever.

“ In which Resolution, they said, they were nothing  
“ discouraged, although the Heads of the Malignant  
“ Party disappointed of their Prey, the Religion and  
“ Liberty of the Kingdom, which they were ready  
“ to seize upon, and devour before the beginning of  
“ this Parliament, had still persisted by new Practices,  
“ both of force and subtilty, to recover the same  
“ again; for which purpose they had made several  
“ Attempts for bringing up the Army; they after-  
“ wards projected the false Accusation of the Lord  
“ *Kimbolton*, and the five Members of the House of  
“ Commons, which being in itself of an odious  
“ Nature, they had yet so far prevailed with his  
“ Majesty, as to procure him to take it upon himself;  
“ but when the unchangeable Duty and Faithfulness  
“ of Parliament could not be wrought upon, by such  
“ a Fact as that, to withdraw any part of their Re-  
“ verence and Obedience from his Majesty, they  
“ had, with much Art and Industry, advised his  
“ Majesty to suffer divers unjust Scandals, and Im-  
“ putations upon the Parliament, to be published in  
“ his Name, whereby they might make it odious to  
“ the People, and by Their help, destroy that, which  
“ hitherto had been the only means of their own  
“ Preservation.

“ For this purpose, they had drawn his Majesty  
“ into the Northern Parts far from the Parliament;

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“ that so false Rumors might have time to get  
“ Credit, and the just Defences of the Parliament  
“ find a more tedious, difficult, and disadvantageous  
“ Access, after those false Imputations, and Sland-  
“ ers had been first rooted in the apprehension of  
“ his Majesty, and his Subjects; which the more  
“ speedily to effect, they had caused a Press to be  
“ transported to *York*, from whence several Papers,  
“ and Writings of that kind were conveyed to all  
“ parts of the Kingdom, without the Authority of  
“ the Great Seal, in an unusual and illegal manner,  
“ and without the Advice of his Majesty’s Privy-  
“ Council; from the greater and better part whereof  
“ having withdrawn himself, as well as from his  
“ Great Council of Parliament, he was thereby ex-  
“ posed to the wicked and unfaithful Counsels of  
“ such, as had made the Wisdom and Justice of the  
“ Parliament dangerous to themselves; and that  
“ danger they labored to prevent by hiding their own  
“ Guilt under the Name, and shadow of the King;  
“ infusing into him their own Fears, as much as in  
“ them lay, aspersing his Royal Person and Honor  
“ with their own Infamy; from both which it had  
“ always been as much the Care, as it was the Duty,  
“ of the Parliament to preserve his Majesty, and to  
“ fix the Guilt of all evil Actions and Counsels upon  
“ those who had been the Authors of them.

“ Among divers Writings of that kind, they said,  
“ They the Lords and Commons in Parliament, had  
“ taken into their considerations two Printed Papers;  
“ the first containing a Declaration, which they had  
“ received from his Majesty in Answer to that which

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“ had been presented to his Majesty from both  
 “ Houses at *New-Market*, the ninth of *March* 1641.  
 “ the other. his Majesty’s Answer to the Petition of  
 “ both Houses, presented to his Majesty the 26th of  
 “ *March* 1642. Both which were filled with harsh Cen-  
 “ sures, and causeless Charges upon the Parliament;  
 “ concerning which they held it necessary to give  
 “ satisfaction to the Kingdom; seeing they found it  
 “ very difficult to satisfy his Majesty, whom, to  
 “ their great grief, they had found to be so engaged  
 “ to, and possessed by those misapprehensions, which  
 “ evil Counsellors have wrought in him, that their  
 “ most humble and faithful Remonstrances had rather  
 “ irritated and embittered, than any thing allayed,  
 “ or mitigated the sharp Expressions, which his  
 “ Majesty had been pleased to make in Answer  
 “ to them; for the manifestation whereof, and of  
 “ their own Innocency, they desired that all his  
 “ Majesty’s loving Subjects might take notice of the  
 “ Particulars :

“ They knew no occasion given by them, which  
 “ might move his Majesty to tell them, that in their  
 “ Declaration, presented at *New-Market*, there were  
 “ some Expressions different from the usual Language  
 “ to Princes: neither did they tell his Majesty, either  
 “ in Words or in Effect, that if he did not join with  
 “ them in an Act, which he conceived might prove  
 “ prejudicial and dangerous to Himself, and the  
 “ whole Kingdom, they would make a Law without  
 “ Him, and impose it upon the People. That  
 “ which they desired, they said, was, that in regard  
 “ of the Imminent Danger of the Kingdom, the  
 “ Militia,

" Militia, for the Security of his Majesty and his  
 " People, might be put under the Command of  
 " such noble, and faithful Persons, as they had all  
 " cause to Confide in: and such was the necessity of  
 " this Preservation, that they declared, that if his  
 " Majesty should refuse to join with them therein,  
 " the two Houses of Parliament, being the supreme  
 " Court and highest Council of the Kingdom, were  
 " enabled, by their own Authority, to provide  
 " for the repulsing of such Imminent and Evident  
 " Danger, not by any New Law of their own  
 " making, as had been untruly suggested to his  
 " Majesty, but by the most Ancient Law of the  
 " Kingdom, even that which is fundamental and  
 " essential to the Constitution and Subsistence of it.

" Although they never desired, they said, to  
 " encourage his Majesty to such Replies as might  
 " produce any contestation between him and his  
 " Parliament, of which they never found better  
 " effect, than loss of Time, and hindrance of the  
 " Public Affairs; yet they had been far from telling  
 " him of how little value his Words would be with  
 " them, much less when they were accompanied  
 " with Actions of Love, and Justice. They said,  
 " he had more reason to find fault with those wicked  
 " Counsellors, who had so often bereaved Him of  
 " the Honor, and his People of the Fruit of so many  
 " gracious Speeches which he had made to them,  
 " such as those in the end of the last Parliament; that,  
 " on the word of a King, and as he was a Gentleman,  
 " he would redress the Grievances of his People, as  
 " well out of Parliament, as in it. They asked, if



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“ the searching the Studies and Chambers, yea, the  
 “ Pockets of some, both of the Nobility and Com-  
 “ mons, the very next day; the Commitment of  
 “ Mr. *Bellasis*, Sir *John Hotham*, and Mr. *Crew*;  
 “ the continued Oppressions by Ship-money, Coat  
 “ and Conduct-money; with the manifold Imprison-  
 “ ments, and other Vexations thereupon, and other  
 “ ensuing Violations of the Laws and Liberties of  
 “ the Kingdom (all which were the effects of evil  
 “ Counsel, and abundantly declared in the Remon-  
 “ strance of the State of the Kingdom) were Actions  
 “ of Love and Justice, suitable to such Words as  
 “ those?

“ As gracious was his Majesty's Speech in the  
 “ beginning of this Parliament; that he was Re-  
 “ solved to put himself freely and clearly upon the  
 “ Love, and Affection of his English Subjects. They  
 “ asked whether his causeless Complaints and Jeal-  
 “ ousies, the unjust Imputations so often cast upon  
 “ his Parliament, his denial of their necessary Defence  
 “ by the Ordinance of the Militia, his dangerous  
 “ absenting himself from his Great-Council, like to  
 “ produce such a mischievous Division in the King-  
 “ dom, had not been more suitable to other Men's  
 “ evil Counsels, than to his own Words? Neither,  
 “ they said, had his latter Speeches been better used,  
 “ and preserved by those evil, and wicked Coun-  
 “ sellors: Could any Words be fuller of Love and  
 “ Justice, than those in his Answer to the Message  
 “ sent to the House of Commons, the 31<sup>st</sup> of *Decemb.*  
 “ 1641. We do engage unto you solemnly the Word  
 “ of a King, that the Security of all, and every one

“ of you from Violence, is, and ever shall be, as  
“ much our Care, as the Preservation of Us and our  
“ Children? And could any Actions be fuller of  
“ Injustice and Violence, than that of the Attorney  
“ General, in falsely accusing the six Members of  
“ Parliament, and the other Proceedings thereupon,  
“ within three or four days after that Message? For  
“ the full view whereof, they desired the Declaration  
“ made of those Proceedings might be perused; and  
“ by those Instances (they could add many more)  
“ the World might judge who deserved to be taxed  
“ with disvaluing his Majesty’s Words, they who  
“ had, as much as in them lay, stained and sullied  
“ them with such foul Counsels; or the Parliament,  
“ who had ever manifested, with joy and delight,  
“ their humble Thankfulness for those gracious  
“ Words, and Actions of Love and Justice, which  
“ had been conformable thereunto.

“ The King, they said, had been pleased to  
“ Disavow the having, any such evil Counsel or  
“ Counsellors as were mentioned in their Declara-  
“ tion, to his Knowledge; and they held it their  
“ Duty humbly to Avow there were such; or else  
“ they must say, that all the ill things done of late  
“ in his Majesty’s name, had been done by Himself;  
“ wherein they should neither follow the Direction  
“ of the Law, nor the affection of their own Hearts,  
“ which was, as much as might be, to clear his  
“ Majesty from all imputation of Misgovernment,  
“ and to lay the fault upon his Ministers. The false  
“ accusing of six Members of Parliament; the jus-  
“ tifying Mr. Attorney in that false accusation; the

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“ violent coming to the House of Commons; the  
 “ denial of the Militia; the sharp Messages to both  
 “ Houses, contrary to the customs of former Kings;  
 “ the long and remote Absence of his Majesty from  
 “ Parliament; the heavy and wrongful Taxes upon  
 “ both Houses; the cherishing and countenancing  
 “ a discontented Party in the Kingdom against them,  
 “ were certainly the fruits of very evil Counsels,  
 “ apt to put the Kingdom into a Combustion, to  
 “ hinder the supplies of *Ireland*, and to countenance  
 “ the Proceedings and pretensions of the Rebels  
 “ there: and the Authors of these evil Counsels,  
 “ they conceived, must needs be known to his  
 “ Majesty; and they hoped Their laboring with his  
 “ Majesty, to have those discovered and brought  
 “ to a just Censure, would not so much wound his  
 “ Honor in the opinion of his good Subjects, as  
 “ His laboring to preserve and conceal them.

“ And whereas his Majesty had said, He could  
 “ wish that his own immediate Actions which he  
 “ avowed, and his own Honor might not be so  
 “ roughly censured under the common Style of evil  
 “ Counsellors; they said, that They could also  
 “ heartily wish that they had not cause to make  
 “ that Style so common; but how often, and un-  
 “ dutiful soever, those wicked Counsellors should  
 “ fix their Dishonor upon the King, by making his  
 “ Majesty the Author of those evil Actions, which  
 “ were the effects of their own evil Counsels, They,  
 “ his Majesty’s Loyal and Dutiful Subjects could  
 “ use no other Style, according to that Maxim of  
 “ the Law, *the King can do no wrong*; but if any ill

“ were committed in matter of State, the Council;  
 “ if in matter of Justice, the Judges must answer  
 “ for it.

“ They said, They had laid no Charge upon his  
 “ Majesty, which should put him upon that Apo-  
 “ logy, concerning his faithful and zealous Affection  
 “ of the Protestant Profession: neither did his Ma-  
 “ jesty endeavour to clear those in greatest Authority  
 “ about him, by whom they had said that design  
 “ had been potently Carried on for divers Years;  
 “ and they rather wished that the Mercies of Heaven,  
 “ than the Judgments, might be manifested upon  
 “ them; but that there had been such, there were  
 “ such plentiful and frequent Evidences, that they  
 “ believed there was none, either Protestant or  
 “ Papist, who had had any reasonable view of the  
 “ Passages of later Times, but, either in Fear or  
 “ Hope, did expect a sudden issue of that Design.

“ They said, they had no way transgressed against  
 “ the Act of Oblivion, by remembering the intended  
 “ War against *Scotland*, as a Branch of that Design  
 “ to alter Religion by those wicked Counsels, from  
 “ which God did then deliver them, which they  
 “ ought never to forget.

“ That the Rebellion in *Ireland* was framed and  
 “ cherished by the Popish, and Malignant Party  
 “ in *England*, was not only affirmed by the Rebels,  
 “ but, they said, might be cleared by many other  
 “ Proofs: the same Rebellious Principles of pretended  
 “ Religion, the same politic Ends were apparent in  
 “ both, and their malicious Designs and Practices  
 “ were masqued, and disguised with the same false



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“ color of their earnest Zeal to vindicate his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Prerogative, from the supposed oppression  
 “ of the Parliament. How much those treacherous  
 “ Pretences had been countenanced, by some evil  
 “ Council about his Majesty, might appear in this,  
 “ that the Proclamation, whereby they were de-  
 “ clared Traitors, was so long with-held, as to the  
 “ second of *January*, though the Rebellion broke  
 “ forth in *October* before, and then no more than  
 “ forty Copies appointed to be printed; with a  
 “ special Command from his Majesty not to exceed  
 “ that Number; and that none of them should be  
 “ published, till his Majesty’s pleasure, was further  
 “ signified, as by the Warrant appears, a true Copy  
 “ whereof was annexed to this Declaration; so that  
 “ a few only could take notice of it; which was  
 “ made more observable, by the late contrary Pro-  
 “ ceedings against the Scots, who were in a very  
 “ quick and sharp manner Proclaimed; and those  
 “ Proclamations forthwith dispersed, with as much  
 “ diligence as might be, throughout all the King-  
 “ dom, and ordered to be read in all Churches,  
 “ accompanied with Public Prayers, and Execra-  
 “ tions. Another Evidence of favor and countenance  
 “ to the Rebels in some of Power about his Majesty,  
 “ was this, that they had put forth in his Majesty’s  
 “ Name, a causeless complaint against the Parliament,  
 “ which speaks the same Language of the Parliament  
 “ which the Rebels do, thereby to raise a belief in  
 “ men’s minds, that his Majesty’s Affections were  
 “ alienated, as well as his Person was removed,  
 “ from that his Great-Council. All which; they said,

“ did exceedingly retard the supplies of *Ireland*, and  
 “ more advance the Proceedings of the Rebels, than  
 “ any Jealousy or misapprehension begotten in his  
 “ Subjects, by the Declaration of the Rebels, In-  
 “ junction of *Rosetti*, or Information of *Tristram*  
 “ *Whetcomb*; so that, considering the present State  
 “ and Temper of both Kingdoms, his Royal Pre-  
 “ sence was far more necessary here, than it could  
 “ be in *Ireland*, for redemption or protection of his  
 “ Subjects there.

“ And whether there were cause of his Majesty’s  
 “ great Indignation, for being reproached to have  
 “ intended Force or Threatening to the Parliament,  
 “ they desired them to consider who should read  
 “ their Declaration, in which there was no word  
 “ tending to any such reproach; and certainly, they  
 “ said, they had been more tender of his Majesty’s  
 “ Honor in that Point, than he, whosoever he  
 “ was, that did write that Declaration; where, in  
 “ his Majesty’s Name, he did call God to witness,  
 “ he never had any such Thought, or knew of  
 “ any such Resolution of bringing up the Army;  
 “ which truly, they said, would seem strange to  
 “ those, who should read the Deposition of Mr.  
 “ *Goring*, the Information of Mr. *Piercy*, and divers  
 “ other Examinations of Mr. *Wilmot*, Mr. *Pollard*,  
 “ and others; the other Examination of Captain *Leg*,  
 “ Sir *Jacob Ashley*, and Sir *John Conyers*; and con-  
 “ sider the condition and nature of the Petition,  
 “ which was sent unto Sir *Jacob Ashley*, under the  
 “ approbation of C. R. which his Majesty had now  
 “ acknowledged to be his own Hand; and, being

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“ full of Scandal of the Parliament , might have  
“ proved dangerous to the whole Kingdom , if the  
“ Army should have interposed betwixt the King  
“ and them , as was desired.

“ They did not affirm that his Majesty’s Warrant  
“ was granted for the Passage of Mr. *Jermyn*, after  
“ the desire of both Houses for restraint of his Ser-  
“ vants ; but only that he did pass over , after that  
“ restraint , by virtue of such a Warrant. They  
“ knew the Warrant bore date the day before their  
“ desire ; yet , they said , it seemed strange to those ,  
“ who knew how great respect and power Mr.  
“ *Jermyn* had in Court , that he should begin his  
“ Journey in such haste , and in Apparel so unfit for  
“ Travel , as a black Sattin Suit , and white Boots ,  
“ if his going away was designed the day before.

“ The Accusation of the Lord *Kimbolton* , and  
“ the five Members of the House of Commons , was  
“ called a Breach of Privilege ; and truly so it was ,  
“ and a very high one , far above any satisfaction  
“ that had been yet given : for , they asked , how  
“ it could be said to be largely satisfied , so long  
“ as his Majesty labored to preserve Mr. Attorney  
“ from punishment , who was the visible Actor in  
“ it ? So long as his Majesty had not only justified  
“ him , but by his Letter declared , that it was his  
“ Duty to accuse them , and that he would have  
“ punished him , if he had Not done it ? So long  
“ as those Members had not the means of clearing  
“ their Innocency and the Authors of that malicious  
“ Charge were undiscovered , though both Houses  
“ of Parliament had several times Petitioned his

“ Majesty to discover them, and that, not only B O O K  
“ upon the grounds of Common Justice, but by Act V.  
“ of Parliament, his Majesty was bound to do it?  
“ So long as the King refused to pass a Bill for their  
“ discharge, alledging that the Narrative in that  
“ Bill was against his Honor; whereby he seemed  
“ still to avow the Matter of that false and scanda-  
“ lous Accusation, though he deserted the Prosecu-  
“ tion, offering to pass a Bill for their Acquittal;  
“ yet with intimation that they must desert the  
“ avowing their own Innocency, which would more  
“ wound them in Honor, than secure them in Law?  
“ And in Vindication of that great Privilege of Par-  
“ liament, they did not know that they had invaded  
“ any Privilege belonging to his Majesty, as had  
“ been alledged in that Declaration.

“ But, they said, they looked not upon that only  
“ in the notion of a Breach of Privilege, which  
“ might be, though the Accusation were true or  
“ false; but under the notion of a heinous Crime in  
“ the Attorney, and all other Subjects, who had  
“ a hand in it; a Crime against the Law of Nature,  
“ against the Rules of Justice; that Innocent men  
“ should be charged with so great an offence as  
“ Treason, in the face of the highest Judicatory of  
“ the Kingdom, whereby their Lives and Estates,  
“ their Blood and Honor were endangered, without  
“ Witness, without Evidence, without all possibi-  
“ lity of Reparation in a legal Course; yet a Crime  
“ of such a nature, that his Majesty’s command  
“ can no more warrant, than it can any other Act  
“ of Injustice. These things which were evil in



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“ their own nature, such as a false Testimony or  
“ false Accusation, could not be the subject of any  
“ Command, or induce any Obligation of Obe-  
“ dience upon any man, by any Authority what-  
“ soever: therefore the Attorney, in that case, was  
“ bound to have refused to execute such a Com-  
“ mand, unless he had some such Evidence or Tes-  
“ timony, as might have warranted him against  
“ the Parties, and be liable to make satisfaction if  
“ it should prove false; and it was sufficiently  
“ known to every man, and adjudged in Parlia-  
“ ment, that the King could be neither the Relator,  
“ Informer, or Witness. If it should rest as it was,  
“ without further satisfaction, no future Parliament  
“ could be safe, but that the Members might be  
“ taken, and destroyed, at pleasure; yea the very  
“ principles of Government, and Justice would be  
“ in danger to be dissolved.

“ They said, they did not conceive, that Num-  
“ bers did make an Assembly unlawful, but when  
“ either the end, or manner of their carriage should  
“ be unlawful. Divers just Occasions might draw  
“ the Citizens to *Westminster*; where many public  
“ and private Petitions, and other Causes were de-  
“ pending in Parliament; and why that should be  
“ found more faulty in the Citizens, than the resort  
“ every day in the Term of great Numbers to the  
“ ordinary Courts of Justice; they knew not: that  
“ those Citizens were notoriously provoked, and  
“ assaulted at *Westminster* by Colonel *Lunsford*, Cap-  
“ tain *Hyde*, and others, and by some of the Ser-  
“ vants of the Arch-Bishop of *York*, was sufficiently

“ proved; and that afterwards they were more  
 “ violently wounded, and most barbarously man-  
 “ gled with Swords, by the Officers and Soldiers  
 “ near *White-Hall*, many of them being without  
 “ Weapons, and giving no cause of distaste, was  
 “ likewise proved by several Testimonies; but of  
 “ any scandalous or seditious misdemeanours of  
 “ Theirs, that might give his Majesty good cause  
 “ to suppose his own Person, or those of his Royal  
 “ Consort or Children, to be in apparent danger,  
 “ they had no proof ever offered to either House;  
 “ and if there had been any complaint of that kind,  
 “ it was no doubt the Houses would have been  
 “ as forward to join in an Order, for the suppress-  
 “ sing of such Tumults, as they were, not long  
 “ before, upon another occasion, when they made  
 “ an Order to that purpose; whereas those Officers  
 “ and Soldiers, which committed that Violence  
 “ upon so many of the Citizens at *White-Hall*, were  
 “ cherished and fostered in his Majesty’s House;  
 “ and when, not long after, the Common-Council  
 “ of *London* presented a Petition to his Majesty for  
 “ reparation of those Injuries, his Majesty’s Answer  
 “ was, without hearing the proof of the Complaints,  
 “ that if any Citizen were wounded or ill treated,  
 “ his Majesty was confidently assured, that it  
 “ happened by their own evil, and corrupt De-  
 “ meanours.

“ They said, they hoped, it could not be thought  
 “ contrary to the Duty and Wisdom of a Parlia-  
 “ ment, if many concurring, and frequently reite-  
 “ rated, and renewed Advertisements from *Rome*,

BOOK V. “ *Venice, Paris*, and other Parts; if the Solicitations of the Pope’s Nuncio, and their own discontented Fugitives, did make them jealous, and watchful for the safety of the State: and they had been very careful to make their expressions thereof so easy, and so plain to the Capacity and Understanding of the People, that nothing might justly stick with them, with Reflection upon the Person of his Majesty: wherein they appealed to the judgment of any indifferent Person, who should read and peruse their own words.

“ They said, they must maintain the ground of their Fears to be of that moment, that they could not discharge the Trust and Duty that lay upon them, unless they did apply themselves to the use of those means, to which the Law had enabled them in cases of that nature, for the necessary Defence of the Kingdom; and as his Majesty did graciously declare, that the Law should be the measure of his Power; so did they most heartily profess, that they should always make it the Rule of their Obedience. Then they observed, that there were certain Prudent Omissions in his Majesty’s Answer; and said; that the next Point of their Declaration, was, with much caution, artificially passed over by him who drew his Majesty’s Answer; it being indeed the Foundation of all Their misery, and his Majesty’s trouble, that he was pleased to hear general Taxes upon his Parliament, without any particular Charge, to which they might give satisfaction; and that he had often conceived Displeasure

“ against particular Persons, upon Misinformation; and although those Informations had been clearly proved to be false, yet he would never bring the Accusers to question; which did lay an impossibility upon honest men of clearing themselves, and gave an encouragement to false, and unworthy Persons to trouble him with untrue and groundless Informations. Three particulars they had mentioned in their Declaration, which the Penner of his Majesty’s Answer had good cause to omit: the Words supposed to have been spoken at *Kenfington*; the pretended Articles against the Queen; and the groundless Accusation of the six Members of Parliament; there being nothing to be said in Defence, or Denial of any of them.

“ Concerning his Majesty’s desire to join with his Parliament, and with his faithful Subjects, in defence of Religion, and the public Good of the Kingdom, they said, they doubted not he would do it fully, when evil Counsellors should be removed from about him; and until That should be, as they had showed before of Words, so must they also say of Laws, that They could not secure them: witness the Petition of Right, which had been followed with such an Inundation of illegal Taxes, that they had just cause to think, that the payment of eight hundred and twenty thousand pounds, was an easy burden to the Commonwealth in exchange of them; and they could not but justly think, that if there were a continuance of such ill Counsellors, and Favor to them, they would, by some wicked Device or



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“ other, make the Bill for the Triennial Parliament,  
“ and those other excellent Laws mentioned in his  
“ Majesty’s Declaration, of less value than Words.  
“ That excellent Bill for the continuance of this  
“ Parliament, they said, was so necessary, that  
“ without it, they could not have raised so great  
“ Sums of Money for the Service of his Majesty  
“ and the Common-wealth, as they had done, and  
“ without which the ruin and destruction of the  
“ Kingdom, must needs have followed: and, they  
“ were resolved, the gracious favor of his Majesty,  
“ expressed in that Bill, and the advantage and  
“ security which thereby they had from being Dis-  
“ solved, should not encourage them to do any  
“ thing, which otherwise had not been fit to have  
“ been done. And they were ready to make it good  
“ before all the world, that though his Majesty  
“ had passed many Bills very advantageous for the  
“ Subject, yet in none of them had they bereaved  
“ his Majesty of any just, necessary, or profitable  
“ Prerogative of the Crown.

“ They said, they so earnestly desired his Majesty’s  
“ Return to *London*, for that upon It, they con-  
“ ceived, depended the very Safety, and Being of  
“ both his Kingdoms: and therefore they must  
“ protest, that as for the time past, neither the Go-  
“ vernment of *London*, nor any Laws of the Land,  
“ had lost their Life and Force for his security, so  
“ for the Future they should be ready to Do, or Say  
“ any thing, that might stand with the Duty, or  
“ Honor of a Parliament, which might raise a mu-  
“ tual Confidence between his Majesty and them,

“ as They did wish, and as the Affairs of the King-  
 “ dom did require. B O O K  
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“ Thus far, they said, the Answer to that, which  
 “ was called his Majesty's Declaration, had led  
 “ them. Now they came to that, which was enti-  
 “ tled his Majesty's Answer to the Petition of both  
 “ Houses, presented to him at *York* the 26<sup>th</sup> of  
 “ *March* 1642. In the beginning whereof, his Ma-  
 “ jesty wished, that their Privileges on all parts were  
 “ so stated, that That way of Correspondency  
 “ might be preserved with that Freedom, which  
 “ had been used of old. They said, they knew  
 “ nothing introduced by them, that gave any Impe-  
 “ diment thereunto; neither had they affirmed their  
 “ Privileges to be broken, when his Majesty denied  
 “ them any thing, or gave a Reason why he could  
 “ not grant it; or that those, who advised such  
 “ Denial, were Enemies to the Peace of the King-  
 “ dom, and Favorers of the Irish Rebellion; in  
 “ which Aspersions, that was turned to a general as-  
 “ sertion, which, in their Votes, was applied to a  
 “ Particular case; wherefore they must maintain  
 “ their Votes, that to contradict That, which both  
 “ Houses, in the Question concerning the Militia,  
 “ had declared to be Law, and Command it should  
 “ not be obeyed, is a high breach of Privilege, and  
 “ that those, who advised his Majesty to absent  
 “ himself from his Parliament, were Enemies to the  
 “ Peace of the Kingdom, and justly to be suspected  
 “ to be Favorers of the Rebellion in *Ireland*. The  
 “ reasons of both were Evident, because, in the  
 “ First, there was as great a derogation from the

B O O K “ Trust and Authority of Parliament; and, in the  
 V. “ Second, as much advantage to the proceedings,  
 “ and hopes of the Rebels, as might be; and they  
 “ held it a very causeless Imputation upon the Par-  
 “ liament, that they had therein any way impeached,  
 “ much less taken away the freedom of his Majesty’s  
 “ Vote; which did not import a liberty in his Majes-  
 “ ty, to deny Any thing how necessary soever for  
 “ the Preservation of the Kingdom, much less a  
 “ Licence to evil Counsellors, to advise any thing,  
 “ though never so destructive to his Majesty and  
 “ his People.

“ By the Message of the twentieth of *January*,  
 “ his Majesty had propounded to both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, that they would, with all speed, fall  
 “ into a serious consideration of all those Particulars  
 “ which they thought necessary, as well for the  
 “ upholding and maintaining of his Majesty’s Just,  
 “ and Regal Authority, and for the settling his  
 “ Revenue, as for the present and future establishing  
 “ their Privileges; the free and quiet enjoying their  
 “ Estates; the Liberties of their Persons; the Secu-  
 “ rity of the true Religion, professed in the Church  
 “ of *England*; and the settling of Ceremonies, in  
 “ such a manner, as might take away all just Offence,  
 “ and digest it into one entire Body.

“ To that point of upholding, and maintaining  
 “ his Royal Authority, They said, nothing had  
 “ been done to the prejudice of it, that should re-  
 “ quire any new Provision: To the other of settling  
 “ the Revenue, the Parliament had no way abrid-  
 “ ged, or disordered his just Revenue; but it was  
 true,

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“ true, that much Waste, and Confusion of his  
 “ Majesty’s Estate, had been made by those evil and  
 “ unfaithful Ministers, whom he had employed in  
 “ the managing of it; whereby his own ordinary  
 “ Expenses would have been disappointed, and the  
 “ Safety of the Kingdom more endangered if the  
 “ Parliament had not, in some measure, provided  
 “ for his Household, and for some of the Forts, more  
 “ than they were bound to do; and they were still  
 “ willing to settle such a Revenue upon his Majesty,  
 “ as might make him live Royally, Plentifully, and  
 “ Safely; but they could not, in Wisdom, and  
 “ Fidelity to the Common-wealth, do that, till he  
 “ should chuse such Counsellors and Officers, as  
 “ might order and dispose it to the Public Good,  
 “ and not apply it to the Ruin, and Destruction of  
 “ his People, as heretofore it had been. But that,  
 “ and the other matters concerning themselves,  
 “ being works of great Importance, and full of  
 “ intricacy, would require so long a time of Deliberation,  
 “ that the Kingdom might be ruined before  
 “ they could effect them: Therefore they thought  
 “ it necessary, first to be Suitors to his Majesty, so  
 “ to order the Militia, that, the Kingdom being secured,  
 “ they might, with more ease and safety, apply themselves  
 “ to debate of that Message, wherein they had been interrupted,  
 “ by his Majesty’s denial of the Ordinance concerning the same;  
 “ because it would have been in vain for them to  
 “ Labor in other things, and in the mean time, to  
 “ leave themselves naked to the malice of so many  
 “ Enemies, both at Home and Abroad; yet they



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“ had not been altogether negligent of those things,  
 “ which his Majesty had been pleased to propound  
 “ in that Message: They had agreed upon a Book  
 “ of Rates in a larger proportion, than had been  
 “ granted to any of his Majesty’s Predecessors, which  
 “ was a considerable support of his Majesty’s pu-  
 “ blic Charge; and had likewise prepared divers  
 “ Propositions, and Bills, for preservation of their  
 “ Religion and Liberties, which they intended  
 “ shortly to present to his Majesty; and to do what-  
 “ soever was fit for them, to make up that unplea-  
 “ sant breach between his Majesty and the Par-  
 “ liament.

“ Whereas divers exceptions had been taken con-  
 “ cerning the Militia; first, that his Majesty never  
 “ denied the Thing, but accepted the Persons (ex-  
 “ cept for Corporations) only that he denied the  
 “ Way; to which they Answered, That that Ex-  
 “ ception took off *London*, and all other great  
 “ Towns and Cities, which make a great part of  
 “ the Kingdom; and for the Way of Ordinance,  
 “ it is ancient, more speedy, more easily alterable,  
 “ and in all these, and other respects, more proper,  
 “ and more applicable to the present occasion, than  
 “ a Bill; which his Majesty called, the good Old  
 “ Way of imposing upon the Subjects: It should  
 “ seem, that neither his Majesty’s Royal Prede-  
 “ cessors, nor their Ancestors, had heretofore been  
 “ of that opinion; 39. *Ed. 111.* they said, they found  
 “ this Record, The Chancellor made Declaration  
 “ of the Challenge of the Parliament; the King de-  
 “ sires to know the griefs of his Subjects, and to

“ redress Enormities. The last day of the Parliament,  
 “ the King demanded of the whole Estates, whether  
 “ they would have such things as they agreed on,  
 “ by way of Ordinance, or Statute? who Answered  
 “ by way of Ordinance, for that they might amend  
 “ the same at their pleasures; and so it was.

“ But his Majesty objected further, that there was  
 “ somewhat in the Preface, to which he could not  
 “ consent with justice to his Honor and Innocence;  
 “ and that thereby he was Excluded from any  
 “ power in the disposing of it. These Objections  
 “ they said, might seem somewhat, but indeed  
 “ would appear nothing, when it should be con-  
 “ sidered, that nothing in the Preamble laid any  
 “ charge upon his Majesty, or in the body of the  
 “ Ordinance, that excludes his Royal Authority in  
 “ the disposing, or execution of it: But only it was  
 “ provided, that it should be signified by both  
 “ Houses of Parliament, as that Channel, through  
 “ which it would be best derived, and most cer-  
 “ tainly to those ends for which it was intended;  
 “ and let all the World judge whether they had  
 “ not reason to insist upon it, that the strength of  
 “ the Kingdom should rather be ordered according  
 “ to the Advice, or Direction of the great Council  
 “ of the Land, intrusted by the King, and by the  
 “ Kingdom, than that the safety of the King, Par-  
 “ liament, and Kingdom, should be left at the devo-  
 “ tion of a few unknown Counsellors, many of  
 “ them not intrusted at all by the King in any public  
 “ way, nor at all Confided in by the Kingdom.

“ They wished the Danger were not Imminent,

B O O K “ or not still continuing, but could not conceive;  
 V. “ that the long time spent in that debate was evi-  
 “ dence sufficient, that there was no such necessity  
 “ or danger, but a Bill might easily have been pre-  
 “ pared; for, when many causes do concur to the  
 “ danger of a State, the interruption of any one  
 “ might hinder the execution of the rest, and yet  
 “ the design be still kept on foot, for better oppor-  
 “ tunities. Who knew, whether the ill success of  
 “ the Rebels in *Ireland* had not hindered the Insur-  
 “ rection of the Papists here? Whether the prefer-  
 “ vation of the six Members of the Parliament,  
 “ falsely accused, had not prevented that Plot of the  
 “ breaking the neck of this Parliament, of which  
 “ they were informed from *France*, not long before  
 “ they were accused; Yet since his Majesty had  
 “ been pleased to express his pleasure rather for a  
 “ Bill, than an Ordinance, and that he sent in one  
 “ for that purpose, they readily entertained it; and,  
 “ with some small and necessary alterations, speed-  
 “ ily passed the same. But contrary to the custom  
 “ of Parliament, and their expectation, grounded  
 “ upon his Majesty’s own Invitation of them to  
 “ that way, and other reasons manifested in their  
 “ Declaration concerning the Militia, of the fifth  
 “ of *May*, instead of the Royal Assent, they met  
 “ with an absolute Refusal.

“ For their Votes of the fifteenth and sixteenth  
 “ of *March*, they said, if the Matter of those Votes  
 “ were according to Law, they hoped his Majesty  
 “ would allow the Subjects to be bound by them,  
 “ because he had said, he would make the Law the

“ Rule of his power; and if the Question were, whether that were Law, which the Lords and Commons had once declared to be so, who should be the judge? Not his Majesty; for the King judgeth not of Matters of Law, but by his Courts; and his Courts, though sitting by His Authority, expected not his Assent in Matters of Law: nor any other Courts; for they could not judge in that case, because they were Inferior, no Appeal lying to them from Parliament, the judgment whereof is, in the eye of the Law, the King’s judgment in his highest Court, though the King in his Person be neither present, nor assenting thereunto.

“ *The Votes at which his Majesty took exception were these:*

1. “ That the King’s Absence so far remote from his Parliament, was not only an Obstruction, but might prove a Destruction to the Affairs of Ireland.

2. “ That when the Lords and Commons shall declare what the Law of the Land is, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a Command that it should Not be obeyed, was a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament.

3. That those Persons, who advised his Majesty to absent himself from the Parliament, are Enemies to the Peace of the Kingdom, and justly may be suspected to be favorers of the Rebellion in Ireland.

“ That the Kingdom had been of late, and still



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“ was , in so Imminent danger , both from Enemies  
“ abroad , and from a Popish and Discontented  
“ Party at home . that there was an urgent , and  
“ inevitable necessity of putting his Majesty’s Sub-  
“ jects into a posture of Defence , for the safeguard  
“ both of his Majesty and his People .

“ That the Lords and Commons , fully apprehend-  
“ ing this Danger , and being sensible of their own  
“ Duty , to provide a suitable Prevention , had , in  
“ several Petitions , address’d themselves to his  
“ Majesty for the ordering , and disposing the Militia  
“ of the Kingdom in such a way . as was agreed upon ,  
“ by the wisdom of both Houses , to be most , effec-  
“ tual , and proper for the present Exigence of the  
“ Kingdom , yet could not obtain it ; but his Majesty  
“ did , several times , refuse to give his Royal Assent  
“ thereunto .

“ That , in this case of extreme Danger and his  
“ Majesty’s Refusal , the Ordinance of Parliament ,  
“ agreed upon by both Houses , for the Militia , doth  
“ oblige the People , and ought to be obeyed , by  
“ the Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom .

“ By all which , they said , it did appear , that there  
“ had been no color of that Tax , that they went about  
“ to introduce a new Law , much less to exercise an  
“ Arbitrary power , but indeed to prevent it : for this  
“ Law was as old as the Kingdom ; that the Kingdom  
“ must not be without a means to preserve itself ;  
“ which that it might be done without confusion , this  
“ Nation had intrusted certain Hands with Power to  
“ provide , in an orderly and regular way , for the  
“ Good and Safety of the Whole ; which Power , by

“ the Constitution of the Kingdom, was in his  
 “ Majesty, and in his Parliament together: yet since  
 “ the Prince, being but one Person, is more subject  
 “ to accidents of Nature and Chance, whereby the  
 “ Common-wealth may be deprived of the Fruit of  
 “ that Trust, which was, in part, reposed in him;  
 “ in cases of such Necessity, that the Kingdom may  
 “ not be enforced presently to return to it's first Prin-  
 “ ciples, and every man left to do what is right in  
 “ his own Eyes, without either Guide or Rule; the  
 “ Wisdom of this State hath intrusted the Houses of  
 “ Parliament with a power to supply, what should  
 “ be wanting on the part of the Prince, as is evident  
 “ by the constant Custom, and Practice thereof, in  
 “ cases of Nonage, natural Disability, and Capti-  
 “ vity; and the like reason doth, and must hold for  
 “ the exercise of the same Power in such cases,  
 “ where the Royal Trust cannot be, or is not dis-  
 “ charged, and that the Kingdom runs an Evident,  
 “ and Imminent Danger thereby; which Danger  
 “ having been declared by the Lords and Commons  
 “ in Parliament, there needs not the Authority of  
 “ any Person or Court to affirm, nor is it in the  
 “ power of any Person or Court to revoke, that  
 “ Judgment.

“ They said, they knew, the King had ways  
 “ enough, in his ordinary Courts of Justice, to  
 “ punish such seditious Pamphlets and Sermons,  
 “ as were any ways prejudicial to his Rights,  
 “ Honor, and Authority; and if any of them  
 “ had been so insolently violated and vilified, his  
 “ Majesty's own Council and Officers had been to

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“ blame, and not the Parliament : They never had  
 “ restrained any proceedings of that kind in other  
 “ Courts, nor refused any fit complaint to Them The  
 “ Protestation Protested, had been referred by the  
 “ Commons House to a Committee, and, the Author  
 “ being not produced, the Printer committed to  
 “ Prison, and the Book Voted by that Committee to  
 “ be burned ; but Sir *Edward Deering*, who was to  
 “ make that Report of the Votes of that Committee,  
 “ neglected to make it. The Apprentices Protestation  
 “ was never complained of ; but the other seditious  
 “ Pamphlet, *To your Tents O Israel*, was once  
 “ questioned. and the full prosecution of it was not  
 “ interrupted by any fault of either House, whose forwardness  
 “ to do his Majesty all right therein might plainly appear,  
 “ in that a Committee of Lords and Commons was purposely  
 “ appointed to take such Informations as the King’s Council should  
 “ present concerning seditious Words, Practices or Tumults,  
 “ Pamphlets or Sermons, tending to the derogation  
 “ of his Majesty’s Rights or Prerogative, and his Council  
 “ had been enjoined by that Committee, to inquire and  
 “ present them ; who several times met thereupon, and received  
 “ this Answer and Declaration from the King’s Council, that  
 “ they knew of no such thing as yet.

“ They said, if his Majesty had used the Service  
 “ of such a One in penning that Answer, who understood  
 “ the Laws and Government of this Kingdom, he would not  
 “ have thought it Legally in his power to deny his Parliament  
 “ a Guard, when they stood in need of it ; since every ordinary

“ Court hath it : neither would his Majesty , if he  
 “ had been well informed of the Laws, have refused  
 “ such a Guard, as they desired, it being in the  
 “ power of Inferior Courts to command their own  
 “ Guard ; neither would he have imposed upon them  
 “ such a Guard, under a Commander which they  
 “ could not have Confided in ; which is clearly  
 “ against the Privileges of Parliament, and of which  
 “ they found very dangerous effects ; and therefore  
 “ desired to have it discharged ; But such a Guard,  
 “ and so Commanded, as the Houses of Parliament  
 “ desired, they could never obtain of his Majesty ;  
 “ and the placing a Guard about them . contrary to  
 “ their desire , was not to grant a Guard to them,  
 “ but in the effect to set one Upon them : all which  
 “ considered, they believed, in the judgment of any  
 “ Indifferent Persons, it would not be thought  
 “ strange, if there were a more than ordinary resort  
 “ of People to *Westminster*, of such as came willingly  
 “ of their own accord to be Witnesses , and Helpers  
 “ of the safety of Them , whom all his Majesty’s  
 “ good Subjects are bound to defend from Violence,  
 “ and Danger ; or that such a Concourse as that (they  
 “ carrying themselves quietly and peaceably , as they  
 “ did) ought in his Majesty’s apprehension, or could,  
 “ in the interpretation of the Law , be held Tumul-  
 “ tuary and Seditious .

“ They said when his Majesty , in that Question  
 “ of Violation of the Laws , had expressed the ob-  
 “ servation of them indefinitely, without any limita-  
 “ tion of Time , although they never said , or  
 “ thought any thing, that might look like a Reproach



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“ to his Majesty, yet they had reason to remember  
 “ that it had been otherwise, lest they should seem  
 “ to desert their former Complaints, and Proceedings  
 “ thereupon, as his Majesty did seem but little to  
 “ like or approve them; for though he did acknow-  
 “ ledge here that great Mischief, that grew by that  
 “ Arbitrary Power then complained of; yet such  
 “ were continually preferred and countenanced, as  
 “ were Friends, or Favorers, or Related to chief  
 “ Authors and Actors of that Arbitrary Power, and,  
 “ of those false colors, and suggestions of Imminent  
 “ danger and necessity, whereby they did make it  
 “ plausible unto his Majesty: and, on the other side,  
 “ such, as did appear against them were daily dis-  
 “ countenanced, and disgraced: which whilst it  
 “ should be so, they had no reason to believe the  
 “ disease to be yet killed, and dead at Root, and  
 “ therefore no Reason to bury it in Oblivion; and,  
 “ whilst they beheld the Spawns of those mischievous  
 “ Principles cherished, and fostered in that new  
 “ generation of Counsellors, Friends and Abettors  
 “ of the former, or at least Concurring with them in  
 “ their Malignancy against the proceeding of this  
 “ Parliament, they could not think themselves  
 “ secure from the like, or a worse danger.

“ They observed, the Penner of his Majesty’s  
 “ Answer bestowed here an admonition upon the  
 “ Parliament, bidding them take heed They fell not  
 “ upon the same error, upon the same suggestions;  
 “ but, they said, he might well have spared that,  
 “ till he could have showed wherein they had exer-  
 “ cised any power, otherwise than by the Rule of

“ the Law; or could have found a more Authentic,  
“ or a Higher Judge in matters of Law, than the  
“ high Court of Parliament.

“ It was declared, in his Majesty's Name, that he  
“ resolved to keep the Rule Himself, and to his  
“ power, to require the same of all others. They  
“ said, they must needs acknowledge, that such a  
“ resolution was like to bring much happiness and  
“ blessing to his Majesty, and all his Kingdoms;  
“ yet, with humility, they must confess, they had  
“ not the Fruit of it in that Case of the Lord *Kimbol-*  
“ *ton*, and the other five Members, accused contrary  
“ to Law, both Common and the Statue-Law; and  
“ yet remained unsatisfied: Which Case had been  
“ remembered, in their Declaration, as a strange  
“ and unheard of Violation of their Laws: But the  
“ Penner of that Answer thought fit to pass it over,  
“ hoping that many would read his Majesty's  
“ Answer, which had been so carefully dispersed,  
“ who would not read their Declaration.

“ Whereas, after their ample thanks, and acknow-  
“ ledgment of his Majesty's favor in passing many  
“ good Bills, they had said, that truth and necessity  
“ inforced them to add this, that in, or about the  
“ time of passing those Bills, some Design or other  
“ had been on foot, which, if it had taken effect,  
“ would not only have deprived them of the Fruit  
“ of those Bills, but would have reduced them to a  
“ worse condition of confusion, than that wherein  
“ the Parliament found them: it was now told them,  
“ that the King must be most sensible of what they  
“ had cast upon him, for the requital of those good

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V. “ Bills ; whereas, out of their usual tenderness of his  
“ Majesty’s honor, they did not mention Him at all ;  
“ but so injurious, they said were those wicked  
“ Counsellors to the Name, and Honor of their  
“ Master and Sovereign, that, as much as they  
“ could, they laid their own Infamy and Guilt upon  
“ His Shoulders.

“ Here they observed, God also was called to wit-  
“ ness his Majesty’s upright intentions at the passing  
“ of those Laws; which, they said, they would not  
“ question, neither did they give any occasion for  
“ such a solemn Affelevation, as that was; the Devil  
“ was likewise defied to prove there was any design,  
“ with his Majesty’s knowledge or privity. That  
“ might well have been spared; for they spake nothing  
“ of his Majesty: but since they were so far taxed,  
“ as to have it affirmed, that they had laid a false,  
“ and notorious Imputation upon his Majesty, they  
“ thought it necessary, for the just defence of their  
“ own Innocency, to cause the Oaths and Exami-  
“ nations, which had been taken, concerning the  
“ Design, to be published in a full Narration, for  
“ satisfaction of all his Majesty’s Subjects; out of  
“ which they would now offer some few Particulars,  
“ by which the world might judge, whether they  
“ could proceed with more tenderness towards his  
“ Majesty, than they had done. Mr. *Goring* con-  
“ fessed, that the King first asked him, whether he  
“ were engaged in any Cabal concerning the Army?  
“ and commanded him to join with Mr *Piercy*,  
“ and Mr. *Jermyn*, and some others whom they  
“ should find at Mr. *Piercy*’s Chamber; where they

“ took the Oath of Secrecy; and then debated  
 “ of a design proposed by Mr. *Jermyn*, to secure the  
 “ Tower, and to consider of bringing up the Army  
 “ to *London*: and Captain *Leg* confessed, he had  
 “ received the draught of a Petition; in the King’s  
 “ presence; and his Majesty acknowledgeth, it was  
 “ from his own Hand: and whosoever reads the  
 “ Sum of that Petition, as it was proved by the  
 “ Testimony of Sir *Jacob Aspley* Sir *John Conyers*,  
 “ and Captain *Leg*, will easily perceive some Points  
 “ in it apt to beget in them some Discontents against  
 “ the Parliament. And could any man believe there  
 “ was no Design in the Accusation of the Lord *Kim-*  
 “ *bolton*, and the rest, in which his Majesty doth  
 “ avow himself to be both a Commander, and an  
 “ Actor? These things being so, it would easily  
 “ appear to be as much against the Rules of Pru-  
 “ dence, that the Penner of that Answer should  
 “ entangle his Majesty in that unnecessary Apology,  
 “ as it was against the Rules of Justice, that any  
 “ Reparation from Them should be either yielded,  
 “ or demanded.

“ It was professed, in his Majesty’s Name, that  
 “ he is truly sensible of the Burdens of his People;  
 “ which made them hope that he would take that  
 “ course, which would be most effectual to ease  
 “ them of those burdens, that was, to join with  
 “ his Parliament in preserving the Peace of the  
 “ Kingdom, which, by his Absence from them,  
 “ had been much endangered; and which, by hin-  
 “ dering the voluntary Adventurers for the recovery  
 “ of *Ireland*, and disabling the Subjects to discharge



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v.

“ the great Tax imposed on them, was like to make  
 “ the War much more heavy to the Kingdom.  
 “ And for his Majesty’s Wants, the Parliament had  
 “ been no cause of them; They had not diminished  
 “ his just Revenue, but had much eased his Public  
 “ Charge, and somewhat his Private; and they  
 “ should be ready, in a Parliamentary way, to settle  
 “ his Revenue in such an Honorable proportion,  
 “ as might be answerable to both, when he should  
 “ put himself into such a posture of Government,  
 “ that his Subjects might be secure to enjoy his  
 “ just Protection for their Religion, Laws, and  
 “ Liberties.

“ They said, they never refused his Majesty’s  
 “ gracious Offer, of a free and general Pardon, only  
 “ they said, it could be no Security to their present  
 “ Fears and Jealousies: and they gave a Reason for  
 “ it; that those Fears did not arise out of any Guilt  
 “ of their own Actions, but out of the evil Designs  
 “ and Attempts of others; and they left the World  
 “ to judge, whether They therein had deserved so  
 “ heavy a Tax and Exclamation? (That it was a  
 “ strange World, when Princes, proffered Favors  
 “ were counted Reproaches: such were the words  
 “ of his Majesty’s Answer) who did esteem that  
 “ Offer as an Act of Princely Grace and Bounty,  
 “ which, since the Parliament begun, they had  
 “ humbly desired they might obtain, and did still  
 “ hold it very necessary, and advantageous for the  
 “ generality of the Subject, upon whom the Taxes  
 “ and Subsidies lie heaviest: but, they said, they  
 “ saw, upon every Occasion, how unhappy they

“ were in his Majesty’s misapprehensions of their B O O K  
 “ Words, and Actions. Y.

“ They said, they were fully of the King’s mind,  
 “ as it was there declared, that he might rest so  
 “ secure of the Affections of his Subjects, that he  
 “ should not stand in need of Foreign Force to  
 “ preserve him from Oppression; and were confident  
 “ that he should never want an abundant evidence  
 “ of the good Wishes, and Assistance of his whole  
 “ Kingdom; especially if he would be pleased to  
 “ hold to that gracious Resolution of building upon  
 “ that sure Foundation, the Law of the Land; but  
 “ why his Majesty should take it ill, that they,  
 “ having received Informations so deeply concerning  
 “ the safety of the Kingdom, should think them  
 “ fit to be considered of, they could not conceive;  
 “ for although the Name of the Person was un-  
 “ known, yet that which was more substantial to  
 “ the probability of the report was known, that is,  
 “ that he was servant to the Lord *Digby*; who, in  
 “ his presumptuous Letter to the Queen’s Majesty,  
 “ and other Letters to Sir *Lewis Dives*, had intimated  
 “ some wicked Proposition, suitable to that Infor-  
 “ mation; but that this should require Reparation,  
 “ they held it as far from Justice, as it was from  
 “ Truth that they had mixed any Malice with those  
 “ Rumors, thereby to feed the Fears and Jealousies  
 “ of the People.

“ It was affirmed, that his Majesty was driven  
 “ From them, but not By them; yet perchance,  
 “ they said, hereafter, if there should be opportunity  
 “ of gaining more credit, there would not be wanting

BOOK  
V.

“ who would suggest unto his Majesty, that it  
 “ was done By them: and if his Majesty were  
 “ driven from them, they hoped it was not by his  
 “ own Fears, but by the Fears of the Lord *Digby*,  
 “ and his Retinue of Cavaliers; and those no Fears  
 “ of any Tumultuary violence, but of their just  
 “ punishment for their manifold insolence, and in-  
 “ tended violence against the Parliament: And this  
 “ was expressed by the Lord *Digby* himself, when  
 “ he told those Cavaliers, that the principal cause  
 “ of his Majesty’s going out of Town, was to save  
 “ Them from being trampled in the Dirt: but of  
 “ his Majesty’s Person, there was no cause of Fear;  
 “ in the greatest heat of the People’s Indignation,  
 “ after the Accusation, and his Majesty’s violent  
 “ coming to the House, there was no shew of any  
 “ evil Intention against his Regal Person; of which  
 “ there could be no better Evidence than this, that  
 “ he came the next day without a Guard into the  
 “ City, where he heard nothing but Prayers and  
 “ Petitions, no Threatenings, or irreverent Speeches,  
 “ that might give him any just occasions of Fear,  
 “ that They had heard of, or that his Majesty ex-  
 “ pressed; for he staid near a week after at *White-*  
 “ *Hall*, in a secure and peaceable Condition: where-  
 “ by they were induced to believe, that there was  
 “ no difficulty, or doubt at all, but his Majesty’s  
 “ residence near *London* might be as safe, as in any  
 “ part of the Kingdom. They said, they were most  
 “ assured of the faithfulness of the City, and Sub-  
 “ urbs; and for Themselves, they should quicken  
 “ the Vigor of the Laws, and Industry of the  
 Magistrate,

BOOK

V.

“ Magistrate, the Authority of Parliament, for the  
 “ suppressing of all Tumultuary Insolence what-  
 “ soever, and for the vindicating of his Honor from  
 “ all insupportable and insolent Scandals, if any such  
 “ shall be found to be raised upon him, as were  
 “ mentioned in that Answer: and therefore they  
 “ thought it altogether unnecessary, and exceeding  
 “ inconvenient, to Adjourn the Parliament to any  
 “ other place.

“ Where the desire of a good understanding, be-  
 “ twixt the King and Parliament, was on both sides  
 “ so earnest, as was there professed by his Majesty  
 “ to be in Him, and they had sufficiently testified  
 “ to be in Themselves, it seemed strange they  
 “ should be, they said, so long asunder; it could  
 “ be nothing else but evil and malicious counsel in  
 “ misrepresenting their Carriage to his Majesty, and  
 “ in disposing his favor to them. And as it should  
 “ be far from them to take any advantage of his  
 “ Majesty’s supposed straits, as to desire, much  
 “ less to Compel, him to that, which his Honor or  
 “ Interest might render unpleasant, or grievous to  
 “ him; so, they hoped, his Majesty would not  
 “ make his own Understanding or Reason the Rule  
 “ of his Government; but would suffer himself to  
 “ be assisted with a wise and prudent Council, that  
 “ might deal faithfully betwixt Him and his People:  
 “ and that he would remember, that His Resolu-  
 “ tions did concern Kingdoms; and therefore ought  
 “ not to be moulded by his own, much less by  
 “ any Private Person’s, which was not alike pro-  
 “ portionable to so great a Trust: And therefore



BOOK  
V.

“ they still desired and hoped, that his Majesty  
 “ would not be guided by his own understanding,  
 “ or think those courses, Straits and Necessities,  
 “ to which he should be advised by the Wisdom  
 “ of both Houses of Parliament, which are the Eyes  
 “ in the Politic Body, whereby his Majesty was,  
 “ by the Constitution of the Kingdom, to discern  
 “ the differences of those things, which concern the  
 “ Public Peace and Safety thereof.

“ They said, they had given his Majesty no cause  
 “ to say, that they did meanly value the discharge  
 “ of his public duty; whatsoever Acts of Grace or  
 “ Justice had been done, they proceeded from his  
 “ Majesty by the Advice and Counsel of his Parlia-  
 “ ment, yet they had, and should always Answer  
 “ them with constant gratitude; and obedience,  
 “ and affection; and although many things had been  
 “ done, since this Parliament, of another nature,  
 “ yet they should not cease to desire the continued  
 “ Protection of Almighty God upon his Majesty,  
 “ and most humbly Petition him to cast from him  
 “ all those evil, and contrary Counsels, which had,  
 “ in many Particulars formerly mentioned, much  
 “ detracted from the Honor of his Government, the  
 “ Happiness of his own Estate, and Prosperity of  
 “ his People.

“ And having passed so many Dangers from abroad,  
 “ so many Conspiracies at home, and brought on  
 “ the public Work so far, through the greatest dif-  
 “ ficulties that ever stood in opposition to a Parlia-  
 “ ment, to such a degree of success, that nothing  
 “ seemed to be left in the way able to hinder the

“ full Accomplishment of their Desires, and Endeavours for the public Good, unless God in his Justice did send a grievous curse upon them, as to turn the strength of the Kingdom against itself, and to effect that by their own Folly and Credulity, which the Power and Subtilty of their Enemies could not attain, that was, to divide the People from the Parliament, and to make them serviceable to the Ends, and Aims of those who would destroy them: Therefore they desired the Kingdom to take notice of that last most desperate, and mischievous Plot of the Malignant Party, that was acted and prosecuted in many parts of the Kingdom, under plausible notions of stirring them up to a care of preserving the King's Prerogative; maintaining the Discipline of the Church; upholding and continuing the Reverence, and Solemnity of God's Service; and encouraging of Learning: And, upon those grounds, divers mutinous Petitions had been framed in *London, Kent,* and other Counties; and sundry of his Majesty's Subjects, had been solicited to declare themselves for the King against the Parliament; and many false and foul Aspersions had been cast upon their Proceedings, as if they had been not only negligent, but averse in those Points; whereas they desired nothing more, than to maintain the purity and power of Religion, and to honor the King in all his just Prerogatives; and for encouragement and advancement of Piety and Learning, they had very earnestly endeavoured, and still did, to the utmost of their power, that all Parishes might

B O O K “ have Learned, Pious, and Sufficient Preachers;  
v. “ and all such Preachers, competent Livings.  
“ Many other Bills and Propositions, they said,  
“ were in preparation, for the King's profit and  
“ honor, the People's safety and prosperity; in the  
“ proceedings whereof, they were much hindered  
“ by his Majesty's Absence from the Parliament;  
“ which was altogether contrary to the Use of his  
“ Predecessors, and the Privilege of Parliament,  
“ whereby their Time was consumed by a multitude  
“ of unnecessary Messages, and their Innocency  
“ wounded by caulels and sharp Invectives; yet  
“ they doubted not but they should overcome all  
“ this at last, if the People suffer not themselves to  
“ be deluded with false and specious shows, and so  
“ drawn to betray them to their own undoing,  
“ who had ever been willing to hazard the undoing  
“ of themselves, that they might not be betrayed,  
“ by their neglect of the Trust reposed in them:  
“ But if it were not possible they should prevail here-  
“ in, yet they would not fail, through God's Grace,  
“ still to persist in their Duties, and to look beyond  
“ their own Lives, Estates, and Advantages, as  
“ those who think nothing worth the enjoying with-  
“ out the Liberty, Peace, and Safety of the Kingdom;  
“ nor any thing too good to be hazarded, in dis-  
“ charge of their Consciences, for the obtaining of  
“ it: And should always repose themselves upon the  
“ Protection of Almighty God, which, they were  
“ confident would never be wanting to them (while  
“ they sought His Glory) as they had found it,

“ hitherto, wonderfully going along with them, in B O O K  
 “ all their Proceedings.” V.

With this Declaration they published the Examinations of Mr. *Goring*, Mr. *Piercy's* Letter to the Earl of *Northumberland*; which were the great Evidence they had of the Plot of bringing up the Army, to awe the Parliament; and several other Letters and Depositions, or rather such parts of Depositions, as contributed most to their purpose. For the truth is, as they never published, so much to the Houses which were to Judge, many Depositions of Witnesses, whose Testimonies, in a manner, vindicated the King from those Aspersions, which they had a mind should stick upon him (for many such there were) so of those which they did publish, they left out many parts, which, being added, would either have obscured, or contradicted, or discredited much of that, out of which they made the People believe much to the King's disservice. And yet with all those ill Arts and Omissions, I presume many, who without passion do now read those Depositions (for they are in all hands to be read) do much marvel how such conclusions could result to his Majesty's disadvantage, out of the worst part of all that Evidence; which could not, naturally, carry that sense to which it was wrested.

About this time (which I shall mention before the other Declaration, because it intervened) there happened an Accident that gave them much trouble, and the more, because unlooked for, by the Lord Keeper's quitting them and resorting to *York*, by which the King got the possession of his own Great



BOOK V. Seal; which by all Parties was, at that time, thought a most considerable advantage. The King was very much unsatisfied with the Lord Keeper *Lyttleton*; who did not appear so useful for his Service as he expected, and, from the time of the Accusing the Members, had lost all his Vigor, and instead of making any oppositions to any of their extravagant Debates, he had silently suffered all things to be carried; and had not only declined the performing the Office the King had enjoined him, with reference to the Earls of *Essex* and *Holland* (before mentioned) but very much complied with, and courted that Party of both Houses, which frequently resorted to him; and of late in a question, which had been put in the House of Peers, in the point of the Militia, he had given his Vote both against the King and the Law, to the infinite offence and scandal of all those who adhered to the King.

He was a man of great reputation in the profession of the Law; for Learning, and all other advantages, which attend the most Eminent Men; he was of a very good extraction in *Shropshire*, and inherited a fair Fortune, and Inheritance from his Father; he was a handsome, and a proper Man, of a very graceful Presence, and notorious for Courage, which, in his Youth, he had manifested with this Sword; he had taken great pains in the hardest, and most knotty part of the Law, as well as that which was more customary, and was not only very read and expert in the Books, but exceedingly versed in Records, in studying and examining whereof, he had kept Mr. *Selden* company, with whom he had

great friendship, and who had much assisted him; so that he was looked upon the best Antiquary of the profession, who gave himself up to Practice; and upon the mere strength of his own abilities, he had raised himself into the first rank of the Practicers in the Common-Law-Courts, and was chosen Recorder of *London* before he was called to the Bench, and grew presently into the highest Practice in all the other Courts, as well as those of the Law. When the King looked more narrowly into his business, and found that he should have much to do in *Westminster-Hall*, he removed an old, useless, illiterate Person, who had been put into that Office by the favor of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and made *Lytleton* his Solicitor General, much to his Honor, but not to his Profit; the obligation of Attendance upon that Office, depriving him of much benefit he used to acquire by his Practice, before he had that relation. Upon the death of my Lord *Coventry*, *Finch* being made Keeper, He was made Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, Then the best Office of the Law, and that which he was wont to say, in his highest Ambition, in his own privates wishes, he had most desired; and it was indeed the Sphere in which he moved most gracefully, and with most advantage, being a master of all that Learning and knowledge, which that Place required, and an excellent Judge, of great Gravity, and above all suspicion of Corruption.

Whilst he held this place, he was by the favor of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, who had a great esteem of him, recom-

B O O K mended to the King to be called to the Council-  
v. Table, where he kept up his good Name; and, upon the Lord *Finch's* leaving the Kingdom, in the beginning of the Parliament, he was thought, in many respects, to be the fittest to be intrusted in that Office; and, upon the desire of the Earl of *Strafford* after he was in the Tower, was created a Baron, out of expectation that, by his Authority and Knowledge of the Law, he would have been of great use in restraining those extraordinary, and unwarrantable Proceedings; but, from the time he had the Great Seal, he seemed to be out of his Element, and in some perplexity and irresolution in the Chancery itself, though he had great experience in the practice and proceedings of that Court; and made not that despatch, that was expected, at the Council-Table; and in the Parliament he did not preserve any dignity; and appeared so totally dispirited, that few men showed any respect to him, but they who most opposed the King, who indeed did exceedingly apply themselves to him, and were with equal kindness received by him. This wonderful alteration in him, his Friends believed to have proceeded from a great sickness, which had seized upon him quickly after he was created a Baron, insomuch as every Man believed he would die; and by this means, he did not attend the House in some Months; and so performed none of those Offices toward the Earl of *Strafford*, the expectation whereof had been the sole Motive to that promotion: From that time he never did appear the same Man; but sure there were Other causes for it, and he was

possessed with some melancholy apprehensions, which he could not master, and had no Friend to whom he durst entirely communicate them. B O O K V.

Mr. *Hyde*, one of those who was most trusted by the King in the House of Commons, and had always had a great respect for the Keeper, was as much troubled at his behaviour, as any man; and using frequently to go to him, went upon that occasion; and with great freedom and plainness, told him, “how much he had lost the esteem of all Good men, “and that the King could not but be exceedingly “dissatisfied with him;” and discoursed over the matter of that Vote. Though He did not know, that the King did at that time put so great a secret Trust in Mr. *Hyde*, yet he knew very well, that the King had a very good opinion of him, and had heard his Majesty often, from the beginning of the Parliament, when the discourse happened to be of the Lawyers of the House, take an occasion from thence to mention Mr. *Hyde*, as a man of whom he heard very well; which the Keeper had many times taken notice of to him: and then he knew the Friendship that was between the Lord *Falkland* and Mr. *Hyde*, and had heard the many Jealousies which were contracted, upon the great communication he had with the two new Counsellors; and so no doubt believed, that he knew much of the King’s mind. So that as soon as he had entered upon this discourse, which he heard with all attention (they being by themselves in his Study, at *Exeter-House*) He rose from his Chair, and went to the Door; and finding some Persons in the next Room,



B O O K he bad them to withdraw; and locking both the  
 v. Door of that Room, and of his Study, he sat down himself, and making Mr. *Hyde* sit down too, he begun “ with giving him many thanks for his friendship to him, which, he said, he had ever esteemed, “ and he could not more manifest the esteem he had “ of It and Him, than by using that freedom again “ with him, which he meant to do. Then he lamented his own condition; and that he had been “ preferred from the Common-Pleas, where he “ knew both the Business and the Persons he had “ to deal with, to the other high Office he now “ held, which obliged him to converse and transact “ with another sort of Men who were not known “ to him, and in affairs, which he understood not, “ and had not one Friend among them, with whom “ he could confer upon any doubt, which occurred “ to him. ”

He spoke then of the unhappy state and condition of the King's business; how much he had been, and was still, betrayed by Persons who were about him; and with all possible indignation against the proceedings of the Parliament; and said, “ they would “ never do This, if they were not resolved to do “ More: that he knew the King too well, and observed the carriage of particular Men too much, “ and the whole current of public Transactions “ these last five or six Months, not to foresee that “ it could not be long, before there would be a “ War between the King and the two Houses; and “ of the importance, in that Season, that the Great “ Seal should be with the King ” Then he fell into

many expressions of his Duty, and Affections to the King's Person, as well as to his high Degree: and  
“ that no Man should be more ready, to perish  
“ with, and for his Majesty, than He would be;  
“ that the prospect he had of this necessity, had  
“ made him carry himself towards that Party with  
“ so much compliance, that he might be gracious  
“ with them, at least, that they might have  
“ no Distrust of him; which, he knew, many had  
“ endeavoured to infuse into them; and that there  
“ had been a consultation within few days, whether,  
“ in regard he might be sent for by the King, or  
“ that the Seal might be taken from him, it would  
“ not be best to appoint the Seal to be kept in some  
“ such secure place, as that there might be no danger  
“ of losing it; and that the Keeper should always  
“ receive it, for the execution of his Office; they  
“ having no purpose to disoblige Him. And the  
“ knowledge he had of this consultation, and fear  
“ he had of the execution of it, had been the reason,  
“ why in the late debate upon the Militia, he had  
“ given his Vote in such a manner, as, he knew,  
“ would make very ill impressions with the King,  
“ and many others who did not know him very  
“ well; but that, if he had not, in that Point, submitted  
“ to their opinion, the Seal had been taken  
“ from him that Night; whereas by this compliance  
“ in that Vote, which could only prejudice  
“ Himself, and not the King, he had gotten so much  
“ into their confidence, that he should be able to  
“ preserve the Seal in his own hands, till the King

B O O K “ required it; and then he would be as ready to  
V. “ attend his Majesty with it.

Mr. *Hyde* was very well pleased with this discourse; and asked him, “ whether he would give  
“ him leave, when there should be a fit occasion,  
“ to assure the King, that he would perform this  
“ Service, when the King should require it?” He  
desired, “ that he would do so, and pass his Word  
“ for the performance of it, as soon as his Majesty  
“ pleased; and so they parted.”

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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Κη̃μα̃ ἐς̃ ἀε̃. *Thucyd.*

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

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VOL IV.

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MDCXC VIII.





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THE  
History of the Rebellion , etc.

B O O K V.

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**I**t was within very few days after, that the King, exceedingly displeased and provoked with the Keeper's behaviour, sent an Order to the Lord *Falkland*, " to require the Seal from him ; " in which the King was very positive, though he was not resolved to what hand to commit it. His Majesty wished them (for he always included the other Two in such references) to consider, " whether he should give it " to the Lord Chief Justice *Banks* (against whom he made some objection himself) " or into the hands " of Mr. *Selden*; and to send their opinions to him." The Order was positive for requiring it from the present Officer, but they knew not who to advise for a Successor. The Lord Chief Justice *Banks* appeared to be as much afraid, as the other; and not thought equal to that Charge, in a time of so much disorder; though otherwise he was a Man of great abilities, and unblemished integrity; they did not doubt of Mr. *Selden's* Affection to the King, but withal they knew him so well, that they concluded he would absolutely refuse the place, if it were offered to him. He was in years, and of a tender constitution; he had for many years enjoyed his ease, which he loved; was rich; and would not have made a Journey to *York*, or

BOOK have lain out of his own bed, for any Preferment;  
 V. which he had never affected.

Being all Three of one mind, that it would not be fit to offer it to the one or the other; hereupon Mr. *Hyde* told them the conference he had with the Keeper, and the professions he had made; and was very confident, that he would very punctually perform it; and therefore proposed, that “ they might, “ with their Opinions of the other Persons, likewise advise his Majesty to suspend his resolution “ concerning the Lord Keeper, and rather to write “ kindly to him, to bring the Seal to his Majesty, “ instead of sending for the Seal itself, and cast him “ off; ” and offered to venture his own credit with the King, that the Keeper would comply with his Majesty’s commands. Neither of them were of his opinion; and had both no esteem of the Keeper, nor believed, that he would go to his Majesty, if he were sent for, but that he would find some trick to excuse himself; and therefore were not willing. that Mr. *Hyde* should venture his Reputation upon it. He desired them then “ to consider how absolutely “ necessary it was, that the King should first resolve “ into what hand to put the Seal, before he removed “ it; for that it could not be unemployed one hour, “ but that the whole Justice of the Kingdom would “ be put out of order, and draw a greater and a “ juster clamor, than had been yet: That there “ was as much care to be taken, that it should not “ be in the power of any man to refuse it, which “ would be yet more prejudicial to his Majesty. He “ desired them above all, to weigh well, that the “ business consisted only in having the Great Seal in

“ the place where his Majesty resolved to be; and if  
 “ the Keeper would keep his promise, and desired  
 “ to serve the King, it would be unquestionably the  
 “ best way, that He and the Seal were both there:  
 “ if, on the other side, he were not an honest Man,  
 “ and cared not for offending the King, he would  
 “ then refuse to deliver it; and inform the Lords of  
 “ it: who would justify him for his disobedience, and  
 “ reward and cherish him; and he must then here-  
 “ after serve Their turn; the mischief whereof would  
 “ be greater, than could be easily imagined: and his  
 “ Majesty’s own Great Seal should be every day  
 “ used against him, nor would it be possible in many  
 “ Months to procure a New one to be made.

B O O K

V.

These Objections appeared of weight to them;  
 and they Resolved to give an account of the whole  
 to the King, and to expect his Order: and both the  
 Lord *Balkland*, and Mr. *Hyde*, writ to his Majesty,  
 and sent their Letters away that very Night. The  
 King was satisfied with the Reasons, and was very  
 glad that Mr. *Hyde* was so confident of the Keeper;  
 though, he said, “ he remained still in doubt; and  
 “ Resolved that he would, such a day of the Week  
 “ following, send for the Keeper and the Seal;” and  
 that it should be, as had been advised, upon a *Satur-*  
*day* Afternoon, as soon as the House of Lords should  
 rise; because then no notice could be taken of it till  
*Monday*. Mr. *Hyde*, who had continued to see the  
 Keeper frequently, and was confirmed in his con-  
 fidence of his Integrity, went now to him; and  
 finding him firm to his Resolution and of opinion,  
 in regard of the high Proceedings of the Houses,



B O O K that it should not be long deferred; he told him,  
 V. “ that he might expect a Messenger the next Week,  
 “ and that he should once more see him, when he  
 “ would tell him the Day; and that he would then  
 “ go himself away before him to *York* ;” with which  
 he was much pleased, and it was agreed between  
 the Three, that it was now time, that he should  
 be gone ( the King having sent for him some time  
 before ) after a day or two; in which time the De-  
 clatation of the nineteenth of *May* would be passed.

On the *Saturday* following, between two and  
 three of the Clock in the Afternoon, Mr. *Elliot*, a  
 Groom of the Bed-Chamber to the Prince, came to  
 the Keeper, and found him alone in the Room where  
 he used to sit, and delivered him a Letter from the  
 King in his own hand; wherein he required him,  
 with many expressions of kindness and esteem, “ to  
 “ make haste to him;” and if his indisposition (for  
 he was often troubled with gravel and sharpness of  
 Urine) “ would not suffer him to make such haste  
 “ upon the Journey, as the occasion required, that  
 “ he should deliver the Seal to the Person who gave  
 “ him the Letter; who, being a strong young Man,  
 “ would make such haste as was necessary; and that  
 “ he might make his own Journey, by those degrees  
 “ which his Health required.” The Keeper was sur-  
 prised with the Messenger, whom he did not like;  
 and more when he found that he knew the contents  
 of the Letter, which, he hoped, would not have been  
 communicated to any Man, who should be sent: He  
 Answered him with much reservation, and when the  
 other with bluntness, as he was no polite Man,

demanded the Seal of him, which he had not thought of putting out of his own hands; he Answered him, "that he would not deliver it into any hands, but "the King's;" but presently recollecting himself, and looking over his Letter again, he quickly considered, that it would be hazardous to carry the Seal himself such a Journey; and that if by any pursuit of him, which he could not but suspect, he should be seized upon, the King would be very unhappily disappointed of the Seal, which he had reason so much to depend upon; and that his misfortune would be wholly imputed to his own fault and infidelity (which without doubt he abhorred with his heart) and the only way to prevent that mischief, or to appear innocent under it, was to deliver the Seal to the Person trusted by the King himself to receive it; and so, without telling him any thing of his own purpose, he delivered the Seal into his hands; who forthwith put himself on his Horse, and with wonderful expedition presented the Great Seal into his Majesty's own hands; who was infinitely pleased with It, and with the Messenger.

The Keeper, that Evening, pretended to be indisposed, and that he would take his rest early, and therefore that no body should be admitted to speak with him: and then he called Serjeant *Lee* to him, who was the Serjeant who waited upon the Seal, and in whom he had great Confidence, as he well might; and told him freely, "That he was resolved the next "Morning, to go to the King, who had sent for him; "that he knew well, how much malice he should "contract by it from the Parliament, which would

B O O K “ use all the means they could to apprehend him ;  
 V. “ and he himself knew not how he should perform  
 “ the Journey, therefore he put himself entirely into  
 “ his hands; that he should cause his Horses to be  
 “ ready against the next Morning, and only his  
 “ own Groom to attend them, and he to guide the  
 “ best way, and that he would not impart it to any  
 “ other Person.” The honest Serjeant was very glad  
 of the Resolution, and cheerfully undertook all things  
 for the Journey; and so sending the Horses out of the  
 Town, the Keeper put himself in his Coach very  
 early the next Morning, and as soon as they were  
 out of the Town, He and the Serjeant, and one  
 Groom, took their Horses, and made so great a Jour-  
 ney that day, it being about the beginning of *June*,  
 that before the end of the third day, he kissed the  
 King’s hand at *York*.

He had purposely procured the House of Peers to  
 be Adjourned to a later hour, in the Morning for  
*Monday*, than it used to be. *Sunday* passed without  
 any Man’s taking notice of the Keeper’s being absent;  
 and many, who knew that he was not at his House,  
 thought he had been gone to *Cranford*, to his Country-  
 House, whither he frequently went on *Saturday*  
 nights, and was early enough at the Parliament on *Mon-*  
*day* mornings; and so the Lords the more willingly con-  
 sented to the later Adjournements for those days. But  
 on *Monday* Morning, when it was known when, and  
 in what manner he had left his House, the confusion  
 in both Houses was very great; and they who had  
 thought that their interest was so great in him, that  
 they knew all his thoughts, and had valued them-

selves, and were valued by others, upon that account, hung down their heads, and were even distracted with shame : However they could not but conclude that He was out of their reach before the Lords met ; yet to show their indignation against him , and it may be in hope that his Infirmities would detain him long in the Journey ( as no body indeed thought that he could have performed it, with that expedition ) they issued out such a Warrant for the apprehending him, as had been in the case of the foulest Felon or Murderer ; and Printed it, and caused it to be dispersed by Expresses, over all the Kingdom with great haste. All which circumstances both before, and after the Keeper's Journey to *York*, are the more particularly, and at large set down, out of justice to the memory of that noble Person ; whose Honor suffered then much in the opinion of many, by the confident report of the Person, who was sent for, and received the Seal, and who was a loud and bold Talker, and desired to have it believed, that his Manhood had ravished the Great Seal from the Keeper, even in spite of his teeth ; which, how impossible soever in itself, found too much Credit ; and is therefore cleared by this very true and punctual Relation, which in truth is but due to him.

But the Trouble and Distraction, which at this time possessed them, was visibly very great ; and their dejection such, that the same day the Earl of *Northumberland*. ( who had been of another temper ) moved, “ that a Committee might be appointed, to consider “ how there might be an Accommodation between “ the King and his People, for the Good, Happiness,



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“ and Safety of both King and Kingdom;” which Committee was appointed accordingly.

This temper of Accommodation troubled them not long, new Warmth and Vigor being quickly infused into them by the unbroken, and undaunted Spirits of the House of Commons; which, to show how little they valued the Power or Authority of the King, though supported by having now his Great Seal by him, on the 26<sup>th</sup> of *May* agreed on a new Remonstrance to the People; in which, the Lords concurring, they informed them,

The two Houses Remonstrance May 26. 1642.

“ That although the great Affairs of the Kingdom,  
“ and the miserable bleeding Condition of the Kingdom of *Ireland* afforded them little leisure, to  
“ spend their time in Declarations, and in Answers,  
“ and Replies, yet the Malignant Party about his  
“ Majesty taking all occasions to multiply Calumnies upon the Houses of Parliament, and to publish  
“ sharp invectives, under his Majesty’s Name against  
“ them, and their proceedings ( a new Engine they  
“ had invented to heighten the Distractions of this  
“ Kingdom, and to beget, and increase distrust,  
“ and disaffection between the King, and his Parliament, and the People ) they could not be so  
“ much wanting to their own Innocency, or to the  
“ duty of their Trust, as not to clear themselves from  
“ those false aspersions, and ( which was their chiefest  
“ care ) to disabuse the People’s minds, and open  
“ their Eyes, that, under the false shows, and pretexts  
“ of the Law of the Land, and of their own Rights,  
“ and Liberties, they may not be carried into the  
“ Road - way, that leadeth to the utter Ruin, and

“ Subversion thereof. A late occasion that those  
“ wicked Spirits of division had taken to defame, and  
“ indeed to arraign the proceedings of both Houses of  
“ Parliament, had been from the Votes of the 28<sup>th</sup> of  
“ *April*, and their Declaration concerning the busi-  
“ ness of *Hull*, which because they put forth, before  
“ they could send their Answer concerning that  
“ matter unto his Majesty, those mischievous Instru-  
“ ments of dissension, between the King, and the  
“ Parliament, and the People, whose chief Labor,  
“ and Study, was to misrepresent their Actions to  
“ his Majesty, and to the Kingdom, would needs  
“ interpret this as an Appeal to the People, and a  
“ declining of all intercourse between his Majesty  
“ and them; as if they thought it to no purpose, to  
“ endeavour any more, to give his Majesty satis-  
“ faction; and, without expecting any longer their  
“ Answer, under the Name of a Message from his  
“ Majesty to both Houses, they themselves had in-  
“ deed made an Appeal to the People, as the Message  
“ itself did in a manner grant it to be, offering to join  
“ issue with them in that way, and in the nature there-  
“ of did clearly show itself to be no other; therefore  
“ They would likewise Address their Answer to the  
“ Kingdom, not by way of Appeal (as they were  
“ charged) but to prevent them from being their  
“ own Executioners, and from being persuaded  
“ under false colors of defending the Law, and their  
“ own Liberties, to destroy both with their own  
“ hands, by taking their Lives, Liberties, and Estates  
“ out of Their hands, whom they had chosen, and  
“ intrusted therewith, and resigning them up unto

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“ some evil Counsellors, about his Majesty, who  
 “ could lay no other foundation of their own great-  
 “ ness, but upon the Ruin of this, and in It, of all  
 “ Parliaments; and in Them, of the true Religion,  
 “ and the Freedom of this Nation. And these, they  
 “ said, were the Men that would persuade the People,  
 “ that both Houses of Parliament, containing all the  
 “ Peers, and representing all the Commons of *Eng-*  
 “ *land*, would destroy the Laws of the Land, and  
 “ Liberties of the People; wherein, besides the Trust  
 “ of the whole; they themselves in their own parti-  
 “ culars, had so great an Interest of Honor, and  
 “ Estate, that they hoped it would gain little Credit  
 “ with any, that had the least use of Reason, that  
 “ such, as must have so great a share in the Misery,  
 “ should take so much pains in the procuring there-  
 “ of; and spend so much time, and run so many ha-  
 “ zards to make themselves Slaves, and to destroy the  
 “ property of their Estates. But that they might give  
 “ particular satisfaction to the several Imputations  
 “ cast upon them, they would take them in order, as  
 “ they were laid upon them in that Message.

“ First They were charged for the avowing that  
 “ Act of Sir *John Hotham*; which was termed un-  
 “ paralleled, and a high, and unheard of Affront  
 “ unto his Majesty, and as if they needed not to  
 “ have done it; he being able, as was alledged, to  
 “ produce no such Command of the Houses of  
 “ Parliament. They said, although Sir *John Hotham*  
 “ had not an Order, that did express every Circum-  
 “ stance of that case, yet he might have produced  
 “ an Order of both Houses, which did compre-  
 “ hend this Case, not only in the clear Intention,

“ but in the very Words thereof; which they know- B O O K  
 “ ing in their Consciences to be so, and to be most V.  
 “ necessary for the Safety of the Kingdom, they  
 “ could not, but in Honor and Justice, avow that  
 “ Act of His; which, they were confident, would  
 “ appear to all the World to be so far from being  
 “ an Affront to the King, that it would be found to  
 “ have been an Act of great Loyalty to his Majesty,  
 “ and to his Kingdom.

“ The next Charge upon them was, that instead  
 “ of giving his Majesty satisfaction, they published  
 “ a Declaration concerning that business, as an Ap-  
 “ peal to the People, and as if their intercourse with  
 “ his Majesty, and for his satisfaction, were now  
 “ to no more purpose; which course was alledged  
 “ to be very unagreeable to the Modesty and duty  
 “ of former times, and not warrantable by any  
 “ Precedents, but what Themselves had made. They  
 “ said, if the Penner of that Message had expected  
 “ a-while, or had not expected that two Houses of  
 “ Parliament (especially burdened, as they were at  
 “ that time, with so many pressing, and urgent  
 “ Affairs) should have moved as fast as himself, he  
 “ would not have said, that Declaration was instead  
 “ of an Answer to his Majesty; which they did  
 “ despatch with all the speed, and diligence they  
 “ could, and had sent it to his Majesty by a Com-  
 “ mittee of both Houses; whereby it appeared, that  
 “ they did it not upon that ground, that they thought  
 “ it was no more to any purpose, to endeavour to  
 “ give his Majesty satisfaction.

“ And as for the Duty and Modesty of former



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“ times, from which they were said to have varied,  
 “ and to want the Warrant of any Precedents therein,  
 “ but what Themselves had made: If they had  
 “ made any Precedents this Parliament, they had  
 “ made them for Posterity, upon the same, or better  
 “ grounds of Reason and Law, than those were upon,  
 “ which their Predecessors first made for Them:  
 “ And as some Precedents ought not to be rules for  
 “ them to follow, so none could be limits to bound  
 “ their Proceedings, which might, and must vary,  
 “ according to the different condition of Times.  
 “ And for that Particular, of setting forth Declara-  
 “ tions for the satisfaction of the People, who had  
 “ chosen, and intrusted them with all that was dearest  
 “ to them: If there were no example for it, it was  
 “ because there were never any Monsters before,  
 “ that ever attempted to disaffect the People from a  
 “ Parliament, or could ever harbour a thought that  
 “ it might be effected. Were there ever such practi-  
 “ ces to poison the People with an ill apprehension  
 “ of the Parliament? Were there ever such imputa-  
 “ tions, and scandals laid upon the Proceedings of  
 “ both Houses? Were there ever so many, and so  
 “ great breaches of Privilege of Parliament? Were  
 “ there ever so many, and so desperate designs of  
 “ force and violence against the Parliament, and the  
 “ Members thereof? If they had Done more than  
 “ ever their Ancestors had Done, they said, they  
 “ had Suffered more than ever They had Suffered;  
 “ and yet, in point of Modesty and Duty, they  
 “ would not yield to the best of former times; and  
 “ they would put that in issue, whether the highest,

“ and most unwarrantable Precedents of any of his  
“ Majesty’s Predecessors, did not fall short, and much  
“ below, what had been done to them this Parlia-  
“ ment? And on the other side, whether, if they  
“ should make the highest Precedents of other Par-  
“ liaments their Patterns, there would be cause to  
“ complain of want of modesty, and duty in Them;  
“ when they had not so much as suffered such things  
“ to enter into their Thoughts, which all the world  
“ knew They put in Act?

“ Another Charge which was laid very high upon  
“ them, and which were indeed a very great Crime  
“ if they were found guilty thereof, was, that by  
“ avowing that Act of Sir *John Hotham*, they did,  
“ in consequence, confound and destroy the title,  
“ and interest of all his Majesty’s good Subjects to  
“ their Lands and Goods; and that, upon this  
“ ground; that his Majesty had the same Title to his  
“ Town of *Hull*, which any of his Subjects had to  
“ their Houses or Lands, and the same to his Ma-  
“ gazine and Munition there, that any Man had to  
“ his Money, Plate, or Jewels: And therefore,  
“ that they ought not to have been disposed of,  
“ without, or against his Consent, no more than the  
“ House, Land, Money, Plate, or Jewels of any Sub-  
“ ject ought to be, without, or against his Will.

“ Here, they said, that was laid down for a  
“ Principle, which would indeed pull up the very  
“ foundation of the liberty, property, and interest  
“ of every Subject in particular, and of all the Subjects  
“ in general, if they should admit it for a truth, that  
“ his Majesty had the same right and title to his

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“ Towns , and to his Magazines (bought with the  
 “ public Moneys, as they conceived that at *Hull* to  
 “ have been) that every particular Man hath to his  
 “ House, Lands, and Goods. For his Majesty’s  
 “ Towns were no more his own, than his King-  
 “ dom was his own; and his Kingdom was no  
 “ more his own, than his People are his own; and if  
 “ the King had a property in all his Towns, what  
 “ would become of the Subjects’ propriety in their  
 “ Houses therein? and if He had a propriety in his  
 “ Kingdom, what would become of the Subjects’ pro-  
 “ perty in their Lands throughout the Kingdom?  
 “ or of their Liberties, if his Majesty had the same  
 “ right in their Persons, that every Subject hath in  
 “ his Lands, and Goods? and what would become  
 “ of all the Subjects’ interests in the Towns, and  
 “ Forts of the Kingdom, and in the Kingdom itself,  
 “ if his Majesty might sell, or give them away, or  
 “ dispose of them at his pleasure, as a particular Man  
 “ might do with his Goods? This erroneous Maxim  
 “ being infused into Princes, that their Kingdoms  
 “ are their own, and that they may do with them  
 “ what they will, as if their Kingdoms were for Them,  
 “ and not They for their Kingdoms, was, they said,  
 “ the Root of all the Subjects’ misery, and of the invad-  
 “ ing of their just Rights, and Liberties; whereas, in-  
 “ deed, they are only intrusted with their Kingdoms,  
 “ and with their Towns, and with their People, and  
 “ with the public Treasure of the Common-wealth,  
 “ and whatsoever is bought therewith; and, by the  
 “ known Law of this Kingdom; the very Jewels of  
 “ the Crown are not the King’s proper Goods, but

are only intrusted to him, for the use and ornament thereof: As the Towns, Forts, Treasure, Magazines, Offices, and the People of the Kingdom, and the whole Kingdom itself is intrusted unto him, for the good, and safety, and best advantage thereof: and as this Trust is for the use of the Kingdom, so ought it to be managed by advice of the Houses of Parliament, whom the Kingdom hath trusted for that purpose; it being their duty to see it discharged according to the condition and true intent thereof; and as much as in them lies, by all possible means, to prevent the contrary; which, if it had been their chief care, and only aim, in the disposing of the Town and Magazine of *Hull* in such manner as they had done, they hoped it would appear clearly to all the world, that they had discharged their own Trust, and not invaded that of his Majesty, much less his Property; which, in that case, they could not do.

But admitting his Majesty had indeed a Property in the Town and Magazine of *Hull*; who doubted but that a Parliament may dispose of any thing, wherein his Majesty, or any Subject hath a right, in such a way, as that the Kingdom may not be exposed to Hazard, or Danger thereby? Which was Their case, in the disposing of the Town and Magazine of *Hull*. And whereas his Majesty did allow this, and a greater power to a Parliament, but in that sense only, as he himself was a Part thereof; they appealed to every man's conscience, that had observed their proceedings, whether they disjoined his Majesty from his Parliament, who

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 “ with them, as in that particular about *Hull*, and for  
 “ the removal of the Magazine there, so also in all  
 “ other things; or whether those evil Councils about  
 “ him, had not separated him from his Parliament;  
 “ not only in distance of place, but also in the dis-  
 “ charge of the joint Trust with them, for the Peace  
 “ and Safety of the Kingdom in that, and some other  
 “ Particulars.

“ They had given no occasion to his Majesty, they  
 “ said to declare with so much earnestness his resolu-  
 “ tion, that he would not suffer either, or both  
 “ Houses by their Votes, without, or against his  
 “ Consent, to injoin any thing that was forbidden  
 “ by the Law, or to forbid any thing that was in-  
 “ joined by the Law; for their Votes had done no  
 “ such thing: And as they should be very tender of  
 “ the Law (which they did acknowledge to be the  
 “ safe-guard, and custody of all public and private In-  
 “ terests) so they would never allow a few private  
 “ Persons about the King, nor his Majesty himself in  
 “ his own Person, and out of his Courts, to be judge  
 “ of the Law, and that contrary to the judgment of  
 “ the highest Court of Judicature. In like manner,  
 “ that His Majesty had not refused to consent to any  
 “ thing, that might be for the Peace and Happiness  
 “ of the Kingdom, they could not admit it in any  
 “ other sense, but as his Majesty taketh the measure  
 “ of what will be for the Peace and Happiness of his  
 “ Kingdom, from some few ill affected Persons about  
 “ him, contrary to the Advice, and Judgment of his  
 “ great Council of Parliament. And because the  
 Advice

“ Advice of both Houses of Parliament had through  
 “ the suggestion of evil Counsellors, been so much  
 “ undervalued of late, and so absolutely rejected and  
 “ refused, they said, they held it fit to declare unto  
 “ the Kingdom, whose Honor and Interest was so  
 “ much concerned in it, what was the Privilege of  
 “ the Great Council of Parliament herein; and what  
 “ was the Obligation that lay upon the Kings of this  
 “ Realm, to pass such Bills, as are offered to them  
 “ by both Houses of Parliament, in the Name, and  
 “ for the Good of the whole Kingdom, whereunto  
 “ they stand engaged both in conscience, and justice,  
 “ to give their Royal Assent: In Conscience, in  
 “ regard of the Oath, that is, or ought to be taken by  
 “ the Kings of this Realm at their Coronation, as  
 “ well to confirm by their Royal Assent such good  
 “ Laws, as the People shall chuse, and to remedy  
 “ by Law such inconveniences, as the Kingdom may  
 “ suffer; as to keep, and protect the Laws already in  
 “ being; as may appear both by the Form of the Oath  
 “ upon Record, and in Books of good Authority,  
 “ and by the Statute of the 25. of *Edward* the III. en-  
 “ titled the Statute of Provisors of Benefices; the  
 “ Form of which Oath, and the Clause of the Statute  
 “ that concerneth it, are as followeth:

*Rot. Parliament. H. IV. N. 17.*

*Forma juramenti soliti, & consueti prestari per  
 Reges Angliæ in eorum Coronatione.*

Servabis Ecclesiæ Dei, Cleroque, & Populo, pacem  
 ex integro, & concordiam in Deo, secundum vires  
 tuas?

*Respondebit, servabo.*

BOOK V. Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis æquam, & rectam justitiam, & discretionem in misericordia & veritate, secundum vires tuas?

*Respondabit, Faciam.*

Concedis justas Leges, & consuetudines esse tenendas; & promittis per te eas esse protegendas, & ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas Vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas?

*Respondabit, Concedo & Promitto.*

Adjicianturque prædictis Interrogationibus quæ justa fuerint, prænuntiatisque omnibus, confirmet Rex se omnia servaturum, sacramento super Altare præstito, coram cunctis.

*A Clause in the preamble of a Statute made the 25.*

*Edw. III. entitled, the Statute of Provisors of Benefices.*

Whereupon the said Commons have prayed our said Lord the King; That sith the Right of the Crown of *England*, and the Law of the said Realm is such, that upon the mischiefs and damages, which happen to this Realm, he ought, and is bound by his Oath, with the accord of his People in his Parliament, thereof to make Remedy and Law, and in removing the mischiefs, and damages which thereof ensue, that it may please him thereupon to ordain Remedy.

Our Lord the King seeing the mischiefs and damages before mentioned, and having regard to the Statute made in the time of his said Grandfather, and to the Causes contained in the same, which Statute

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holdeth always his force, and was never defeated, repealed, or annulled in any point, and by so much he is bound by his Oath to cause the same to be kept as the Law of his Realm, though that, by sufferance and negligence, it hath been sithence attempted to the contrary: Also having regard to the grievous complaints made to him by his People, in divers his Parliaments holden heretofore, willing to ordain remedy for the great damages, and mischiefs which have happened, and daily do happen, to the Church of *England* by the said Cause:

“ Here, they said, the Lords, and Commons claim  
 “ it directly as the Right of the Crown of *England*,  
 “ and of the Law of the Land, and that the King is  
 “ bound by his Oath, with the accord of his People  
 “ in Parliament, to make remedy, and Law, upon  
 “ the mischiefs and damages, which happen to this  
 “ Realm; and the King doth not deny it, although  
 “ he take occasion from a Statute formerly made by  
 “ his Grandfather, which was laid as part of the  
 “ grounds of this Petition, to fix his Answer upon  
 “ another branch of his Oath, and pretermits that  
 “ which is claimed by the Lords and Commons;  
 “ which he would not have done, if it might have  
 “ been excepted against.

“ In Justice, they said, they are obliged there-  
 “ unto, in respect of the Trust reposed in them;  
 “ which is as well to preserve the Kingdom by the  
 “ making new Laws, where there shall be need, as  
 “ by observing of Laws already made; a Kingdom  
 “ being, many times, as much exposed to ruin, for



BOOK V. “ the want of a new Law , as by the violation of  
 “ those that are in being : and this is so clear a Right,  
 “ that, no doubt, his Majesty would acknowledge  
 “ it to be as due to his People, as his Protection.  
 “ But how far forth he was obliged to follow the  
 “ judgment of his Parliament therein, that is the  
 “ Question. And certainly, besides the words in  
 “ the King’s Oath, referring unto such Laws as the  
 “ People shall chuse, as in such things which  
 “ concern the public Weal and Good of the King-  
 “ dom, They are the most proper judges, who are  
 “ sent from the whole Kingdom for that very pur-  
 “ pose ; so they did not find, that since Laws have  
 “ passed by way of Bills ( which are read thrice in  
 “ both Houses, and Committed ; and every part,  
 “ and circumstance of them fully weighed, and  
 “ debated upon the Commitment, and afterwards  
 “ passed in both Houses ) that ever the Kings of this  
 “ Realm did deny them, otherwise than is expressed  
 “ in that usual Answer, *Le Roy Savisera* ; which  
 “ signifies rather a suspension, than a refusal of the  
 “ Royal Assent. And in those other Laws, which  
 “ are framed by way of Petitions of Right, the  
 “ Houses of Parliament have taken themselves to be  
 “ so far Judges of the Right claimed by them, that  
 “ when the King’s Answer hath not, in every point,  
 “ been fully according to their desires, they have  
 “ still insisted upon their claim, and never rested  
 “ satisfied, till such time as they had an Answer  
 “ according to their demand ; as had been done in  
 “ the late Petition of Right, and in former times upon  
 “ the like occasion. And if the Parliament be judge

“ between the King and his People in the question  
 “ of Right ( as by the manner in the claim in Peti-  
 “ tions of Right, and by judgments in Parliament,  
 “ in cases of illegal impositions and taxes, and the  
 “ like, it appears to be ) why should they not be  
 “ so also, in the question of the Common Good,  
 “ and Necessity of the Kingdom, wherein the King-  
 “ dom hath as clear a Right also to have the benefit,  
 “ and remedy of Law, as in any thing whatsoever?  
 “ And yet they did not deny, but that in private  
 “ Bills, and also in public Acts of Grace, as Pardons,  
 “ and the like Grants of Favor, his Majesty might  
 “ have a greater latitude of Granting, or Denying,  
 “ as he should think fit.

“ All this considered, they said; they could not  
 “ but wonder, that the Contriver, of that Message  
 “ should conceive, the People of this Land to be so  
 “ void of Common sense, as to enter into so deep  
 “ a mistrust of those, whom they have, and his Ma-  
 “ jesty ought to repose so great a Trust in, as to de-  
 “ spair of any security in their private Estates, by  
 “ Descents, Purchases, Assurances, or Conveyances;  
 “ unless his Majesty should, by His Vote, prevent  
 “ the prejudice, they might receive therein by the  
 “ Votes of both Houses of Parliament; as if They,  
 “ who are especially chosen, and intrusted for that  
 “ purpose, and who Themselves must needs have so  
 “ great a share in all Grievances of the Subject, had  
 “ wholly cast off all care of the Subject’s Good, and  
 “ his Majesty had solely taken it up; and as if it could  
 “ be imagined, that They should, by their Votes,  
 “ overthrow the Rights of Descents, Purchases, or of

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“ any Conveyance or Assurance. in whose judgment  
 “ the whole Kingdom hath placed all their particular  
 “ interests, if any of them should be called in ques-  
 “ tion, in any of those cases; and that (as not  
 “ knowing where to place them. with greater se-  
 “ curity) without any Appeal from Them to any  
 “ other Person, or Court whatsoever.

“ But indeed they were very much to seek, how  
 “ the Case of *Hull* could concern Descents and Pur-  
 “ chases, or Conveyances and Assurances; unless it  
 “ were in procuring more security to Men in their  
 “ Private interests, by the preservation of the Whole  
 “ from confusion, and destruction; and much less did  
 “ they understand, how the Sovereign Power was  
 “ resisted, and despised therein. Certainly no com-  
 “ mand from his Majesty, and his high Court of  
 “ Parliament (where the Sovereign Power resides)  
 “ was disobeyed by Sir *John Hotham*; nor yet was his  
 “ Majesty’s Authority derived out of any other  
 “ Court, nor by any legal Commission, or by any  
 “ other way, wherein the Law had appointed his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s commands to be derived to his Subjects; and  
 “ of what validity his Verbal Commands are, with-  
 “ out any such Stamp of his Authority upon them,  
 “ and against the Order of both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment, and whether the not submitting thereunto,  
 “ be a resisting and despising of the Sovereign Autho-  
 “ rity, they would leave to all Men to judge, that do  
 “ at all understand the Government of this Kingdom.

“ They acknowledged that his Majesty had made  
 “ many expressions of his Zeal, and Intentions against  
 “ the desperate designs of the Papists; but yet it was

“ also as true, that the Counsels, which had prevailed  
 “ of late with him, had been little suitable to those  
 “ Expressions, and Intentions. For what did more  
 “ advance the open, and bloody design of the Papists  
 “ in *Ireland* ( whereon the secret Plots of the Papists  
 “ here did, in all likelihood, depend ) than his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s absenting himself, in that manner that he did,  
 “ from his Parliament; and setting forth such sharp  
 “ Invectives against them, notwithstanding all the  
 “ humble Petitions, and other means, which his Par-  
 “ liament had addressed unto him, for his return, and  
 “ for his satisfaction concerning their proceedings?  
 “ And what was more likely to give a rise to the de-  
 “ signs of the Papists ( whereof there were so many in  
 “ the North, near to the Town of *Hull* ) and of other  
 “ malignant, and ill affected Persons ( which were  
 “ ready to join with them ) or to the attempts of Fo-  
 “ reigners from abroad, than the continuing of that  
 “ great Magazine at *Hull*, at this time, and contrary  
 “ to the desire and advice of both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment? So that they had too much cause to believe,  
 “ that the Papists had still some way and means,  
 “ whereby they had influence upon his Majesty’s  
 “ Counsels for their own advantage.

“ For the Malignant Party, they said, his Majesty  
 “ needed not a definition of the Law, nor yet a  
 “ more full Character of them from both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, for to find them out, if he would  
 “ please only to apply the Character, that Him-  
 “ self had made of them, to those, unto whom  
 “ it doth properly and truly belong. Who are so  
 “ much disaffected to the Peace of the Kingdom,



B O O K “ as they that endeavour to disaffect his Majesty  
V. “ from the Houses of Parliament, and persuade  
“ him to be at such a distance from them, both  
“ in place and affection? Who are more disaf-  
“ fected to the Government of the Kingdom, than  
“ such as lead his Majesty away from hearkening to  
“ his Parliament, which, by the constitution of the  
“ Kingdom, is his greatest and best Council; and  
“ persuade him to follow the malicious Counsels of  
“ some private Men, in opposing and contradicting  
“ the wholesome Advices, and just Proceedings of  
“ that his most faithful Council, and highest Court?  
“ Who are they, that not only neglect and despise,  
“ but labor to undermine the Law under color of  
“ maintaining it, but they that endeavour to de-  
“ stroy the Fountain, and Conservatory of the Law,  
“ which is the Parliament? And Who are they  
“ that set up other Rules for themselves to walk by,  
“ than such as were according to Law, but they  
“ that will make other Judges of the Law than the  
“ Law hath appointed; and so dispense with their  
“ Obedience to that, which the Law calleth Autho-  
“ rity, and to Their determinations and resolutions,  
“ to whom the judgment doth appertain by Law?  
“ For, when private Persons shall make the Law  
“ to be their Rule according to their own under-  
“ standing, contrary to the Judgment of those that  
“ are the competent Judges thereof, they set up unto  
“ themselves other Rules than the Law doth acknow-  
“ ledge. Who those Persons were, none knew better  
“ than his Majesty himself: And if he would please  
“ to take all possible caution of them, as destructive  
“ to the Common-wealth and Himself, and would

“ remove them from about him, it would be the most  
 “ effectual means to compose all the Distractions, and  
 “ to cure the Distempers of the Kingdom. B O O K  
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“ For the Lord *Digby's* Letter, they said, they  
 “ did not make mention of it as a ground to hinder  
 “ his Majesty from visiting his own Fort; but they  
 “ appealed to the judgment of any indifferent Man,  
 “ that should read that Letter, and compare it with  
 “ the posture that his Majesty then did, and still  
 “ doth, stand in towards the Parliament, and with  
 “ the circumstances of that late Action of his Ma-  
 “ jesty's going to *Hull*, whether the advisers to that  
 “ Journey intended only a Visit of that Fort, and  
 “ Magazine?

“ As to the ways and overtures of Accommoda-  
 “ tion, and the Message of the twentieth of *January*  
 “ last, so often pressed, but still in vain, as was  
 “ alledged: Their Answer was, That although so  
 “ often as that Message of the twentieth of *January*  
 “ had been pressed, so often had their Privileges  
 “ been clearly infringed, that a way and method of  
 “ proceedings should be prescribed to them, as well  
 “ for the settling of his Majesty's Revenue, as for  
 “ the presenting of their own Desires (a thing which  
 “ in former Parliaments had always been excepted  
 “ against, as a breach of Privilege) yet, in respect to  
 “ the matter contained in that Message, and out of  
 “ their earnest desire to beget a good understanding  
 “ between his Majesty and them, they swallowed  
 “ down all matters of Circumstance; and had ere  
 “ that time presented the chief of their desires to his  
 “ Majesty, had they not been interrupted with con-

B O O K “ tinual Denials, even of those things that were ne-  
 V. “ cessary for their present Security, and Subsistence;  
 “ and had not those Denials been followed with per-  
 “ petual Invectives against Them, and their Pro-  
 “ ceedings; and had not those Invectives been heaped  
 “ upon them so thick one after another (who were  
 “ in a manner already taken up wholly with the pres-  
 “ sing Affairs of this Kingdom, and of the Kingdom  
 “ of *Ireland*) that as they had little encouragement  
 “ from thence, to hope for any good Answers to  
 “ their Desires, so they had not so much time left  
 “ them to perfect them in such a manner, as to  
 “ offer them to his Majesty.

“ They confessed it to be a Resolution most worthy  
 “ of a Prince, and of his Majesty, to shut his Ears  
 “ against any that would incline him to a Civil War;  
 “ and to abhor the very apprehension of it. But  
 “ they could not believe that mind to have been in  
 “ Them, that came with his Majesty to the House  
 “ of Commons, or in Them that accompanied his  
 “ Majesty to *Hampton-Court*, and appeared in a  
 “ Warlike manner at *Kingston* upon *Thames*; or in  
 “ divers of Them, who followed his Majesty lately  
 “ to *Hull*; or in Them, who after drew their  
 “ Swords in *York*, demanding, *Who would be for*  
 “ *the King?* nor in Them that advised his Majesty to  
 “ declare Sir *John Hotham* a Traytor, before the  
 “ Message was sent concerning that business to the  
 “ Parliament, or to make Propositions to the Gen-  
 “ tlemen of the County of *York* to assist his Majesty  
 “ to proceed against him in a way of Force, before  
 “ he had, or possibly could receive an Answer from

“ the Parliament, to whom he had sent to demand  
 “ Justice of them against Sir *John Hotham* for that  
 “ Fact: and if those Malignant Spirits should ever  
 “ force them to defend their Religion, the King-  
 “ dom, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Rights,  
 “ and Liberties of the Subjects, with their Swords;  
 “ the Blood, and Destruction that should ensue there-  
 “ upon, must be wholly cast upon Their Account;  
 “ God, and their own Consciences told them, that  
 “ They were clear; and they doubted not, but God,  
 “ and the whole World would clear them therein.

“ For Captain *Leg*, they had not said that he was  
 “ accused, or that there was any Charge against him,  
 “ for the bringing up of the Army; but that he  
 “ was employed in that Business. And for that con-  
 “ cerning the Earl of *New-Castle*, mentioned by his  
 “ Majesty, which was said to have been asked long  
 “ since, and that it was not easy to be Answered :  
 “ They conceived it was a Question of more diffi-  
 “ culty, and harder to be Answered, why, when  
 “ his Majesty held it necessary, upon the same  
 “ grounds that first moved from the Houses of Par-  
 “ liament, that a Governor should be placed in that  
 “ Town, Sir *John Hotham*, a Gentleman of known  
 “ Fortune and Integrity, and a Person of whom  
 “ both Houses of Parliament had expressed their Con-  
 “ fidence, should be refused by his Majesty; and  
 “ the Earl of *New Castle* (who, by the way, was so  
 “ far named in the business of bringing up the Army,  
 “ that although there was not ground enough for a  
 “ Judicial Proceeding, yet there was ground of Sus-  
 “ picion; at least his Reputation was not left so



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“ unblemished thereby, as that he should be thought  
 “ the fittest Man in *England* for that Employment of  
 “ *Hull*) should be sent down, in a private way, from  
 “ his Majesty to take upon him that Government?  
 “ And why he should disguise himself under another  
 “ Name, when he came thither, as he did? But  
 “ whosoever should consider, together with those  
 “ circumstances, that of the Time when Sir *John*  
 “ *Hotham* was appointed, by both Houses of Par-  
 “ liament, to take upon him that Employment,  
 “ which was presently after his Majesty’s coming to  
 “ the House of Commons, and upon the retiring  
 “ himself to *Hampton-Court*, and the Lord *Digby*’s  
 “ assembling of Cavaliers at *Kingston* upon *Thames*,  
 “ would find reason enough, why that Town of *Hull*  
 “ should be committed rather to Sir *John Hotham*,  
 “ by the Authority of both Houses of Parliament,  
 “ than to the Earl of *New-Castle*, sent from his Ma-  
 “ jesty in that manner that he was. And for the  
 “ Power, that Sir *John Hotham* had from the two  
 “ Houses of Parliament, the better it was known and  
 “ understood, they were confident the more it would  
 “ be approved and justified: and as they did not con-  
 “ ceive, that his Majesty’s refusal to have that Maga-  
 “ zineremoved, could give any advantage against him  
 “ to have it taken from him; and as no such thing  
 “ was done, so they could not conceive, for what  
 “ other Reason any should counsel his Majesty, not  
 “ to suffer it to be removed, upon the desire of both  
 “ Houses of Parliament; except it were, that they had  
 “ an intention to make use of it against them.

“ They said, they did not except against those

“ that presented a Petition to his Majesty at *York*, for  
 “ the continuance of the Magazine at *Hull*, in respect  
 “ of their Condition, or in respect of their Number;  
 “ because they were Mean Persons, or because they  
 “ were Few; but because they being but a few, and  
 “ there being so many more in the County of as  
 “ good Quality as themselves (who had, by their Pe-  
 “ tition to his Majesty, disavowed that Act of theirs)  
 “ that they should take upon them the Style of all  
 “ the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County; and,  
 “ under that Title, should presume to interpose their  
 “ Advice contrary to the Votes of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament: And, if it could be made to appear,  
 “ that any of those Petitions, that are said to have  
 “ been presented to the Houses of Parliament, and  
 “ to have been of a strange nature, were of such  
 “ a nature as that, They were confident, that they  
 “ were never received with their Consent, and  
 “ Approbation.

“ Whether there was an Intention to deprive Sir  
 “ *John Hotham* of his Life, if his Majesty had been  
 “ admitted into *Hull*; and whether the Information  
 “ were such, as that he had ground to believe it,  
 “ they would not bring into question; for that was  
 “ not, nor ought to have been, the ground for doing  
 “ what he did: Neither was the Number of his Ma-  
 “ jesty's Attendants, for being more or fewer, much  
 “ considerable in this Case; for although it were  
 “ true, that if his Majesty had entered with twenty  
 “ Horse only, he might happily have found means for  
 “ to have forced the Entrance of the rest of his Train;  
 “ who, being once in the Town, would not have  
 “ been long without Arms; yet That was not the

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“ Ground, upon which Sir *John Hotham* was to proceed; but upon the Admittance of the King into the Town at all, so as to deliver up the Town and Magazine unto him, and to whomsoever he should give the Command thereof, without the Knowledge and Consent of both Houses of Parliament, by whom he was intrusted to the contrary: and his Majesty having declared, that to be his intention concerning the Town, in a Message that he sent to the Parliament, not long before he went to *Hull*; saying, that he did not doubt, but that Town should be delivered up to him, whensoever he pleased, as supposing it to be kept against him; and in like manner concerning his Magazine, in his Message of the 24<sup>th</sup> of *April*, wherein it is expressed, that his Majesty went thither, with a purpose to take into his hands the Magazine, and to dispose of it in such manner, as he should think fit: Upon those Terms, Sir *John Hotham* could not have admitted his Majesty, and have made good his Trust to the Parliament, though his Majesty would have entered alone, without any Attendants at all of his own, or of the Prince or Duke, his Sons; which they did not wish to be less, than they were, in their Number, but could heartily wish that they were generally better in their Condition

“ In the close of that Message, his Majesty stated the Case of *Hull*; and thereupon inferred, that the Act of Sir *John Hotham* was levying War against the King; and, consequently, that it was no less than High-Treason, by the Letter of the Statute of the 25. *Edw. III. ch. 2.* unless the Sense of

“ that Statute were very far differing from the Letter  
 “ thereof.

“ In the stating of that Case, they said, divers  
 “ Particulars might be observed, wherein it was  
 “ not rightly stated: As,

1. “ That his Majesty’s going to *Hull*, was only  
 “ an endeavour to Visit a Town, and Fort of his:  
 “ whereas it was indeed to Possess himself of the  
 “ Town, and Magazine there, and to dispose of  
 “ them, as he himself should think good, without,  
 “ and contrary to the Advice and Orders of both  
 “ Houses of Parliament; as did clearly appear by  
 “ his Majesty’s own Declaration of his Intentions  
 “ therein, by his Messages to both Houses, imme-  
 “ diately before, and after that Journey. Nor could  
 “ they believe, that any Man, who should consider  
 “ the circumstances of that Journey to *Hull*, could  
 “ think, that his Majesty would have gone thither  
 “ at that time, and in that posture, that he was  
 “ pleased to put himself in towards the Parliament,  
 “ if he had intended only a Visit of the Town and  
 “ Magazine.

2. “ It was said to be his Majesty’s own Town,  
 “ and his own Magazine, which being understood  
 “ in that sense, as was before expressed, as if his  
 “ Majesty had a private Interest of Propriety therein  
 “ they could not admit it to be so.

3. “ Which was the main Point of all, Sir *John*  
 “ *Hotham* was said to have shut the Gates against  
 “ his Majesty, and to have made resistance with  
 “ Armed Men, in defiance of his Majesty; whereas  
 “ it was indeed in obedience to his Majesty, and his



BOOK V. “ Authority, and for his Service, and the Service of  
 “ the Kingdom; for which use only, all that Interest  
 “ is, that the King hath in the Town; and it is no  
 “ further his to dispose of, than he useth it for that  
 “ end: And Sir *John Hotham* being Commanded to  
 “ keep the Town and Magazine, for his Majesty  
 “ and the Kingdom, and not to deliver them up, but  
 “ by his Majesty’s Authority signified by both  
 “ Houses of Parliament, all that was to be understood  
 “ by those expressions, of his denying and opposing  
 “ his Majesty’s entrance, and telling him in plain  
 “ terms, that he should not come in, was only this,  
 “ that he humbly desired his Majesty to forbear his  
 “ entrance, till he might acquaint the Parliament;  
 “ and that his Authority might come signified to him  
 “ by both Houses of Parliament, according to the  
 “ Trust reposed in him. And certainly, if the Letter  
 “ of the Statute of the 25. *Edw. III. ch. 2.* be thought  
 “ to import this, That no War can be Levied against  
 “ the King, but what is directed, and intended  
 “ against his Person, or that every Levying of Forces  
 “ for the defence of the King’s Authority, and of his  
 “ Kingdom, against the Personal Commands of the  
 “ King opposed thereunto, though accompanied  
 “ with his Presence, is Levying War against the King,  
 “ it is very far from the Sense of that Statute; and so  
 “ much the Statute itself speaks ( besides the Autho-  
 “ rity of Book-Cases; Precedents of divers Traytors  
 “ condemned upon that interpretation thereof) For if  
 “ the Clause of Levying of War had been meant only  
 “ against the King’s Person, what need had there  
 “ been thereof after the other branch of Treason,

“ in the same Statute, of compassing the King’s  
 “ Death, which should necessarily have implied this ?  
 “ And because the former Clause doth imply this, it  
 “ seems not all to be intended in this latter branch ;  
 “ but only the Levying of War against the King,  
 “ that is, against his Laws and Authority : And the  
 “ Levying of War against his Laws and Authority,  
 “ though not against his Person, is Levying War  
 “ against the King ; but the Levying of Force against  
 “ his Personal Commands, though accompanied  
 “ with his Presence, and not against his Laws and  
 “ Authority, but in the maintenance thereof, is no  
 “ Levying of War against the King, but for him.

“ Here was then, they said, their Case, In a time  
 “ of so many successive Plots, and Designs of Force  
 “ against the Parliament, and the Kingdom ; in a  
 “ time of probable Invasion from abroad, and that  
 “ to begin at *Hull*, and to take the opportunity of  
 “ seizing upon so great a Magazine there ; in a time  
 “ of so great distance and alienation of his Majesty’s  
 “ Affection from his Parliament ( and in Them from  
 “ his Kingdom, which they represent ) by the wicked  
 “ suggestions of a few Malignant Persons, by whose  
 “ mischievous Counsels he was wholly led away  
 “ from his Parliament, and their faithful Advices  
 “ and Counsels : In such a time, the Lords and Com-  
 “ mons in Parliament command Sir *John Hotham*, to  
 “ draw in some of the Trained bands of the parts  
 “ adjacent to the Town of *Hull*, for the securing that  
 “ Town and Magazine for the Service of his Majesty,  
 “ and of the Kingdom : of the safety whereof there is  
 “ a higher Trust reposed in Them, than any where

B O O K “ else; and They are the proper Judges of the danger  
V. “ thereof.

“ This Town and Magazine being intrusted to  
“ Sir *John Hotham* with exprefs Order not to deliver  
“ them up, but by the King’s Authority signified by  
“ both Houses of Parliament; his Majesty, contrary  
“ to the Advice and Directions of both Houses of  
“ Parliament, without the Authority of any Court,  
“ or any Legal way, wherein the Law appoints the  
“ King to speak and command, accompanied with  
“ the same evil Council about him that he had before,  
“ by a Verbal command requires Sir *John Hotham* to  
“ admit him into the Town, that he might dispose of  
“ It, and of the Magazine there, according to his  
“ own, or rather according to the pleasure of those  
“ evil Counsellors, who are still in so much credit  
“ about him; in like manner as the Lord *Digby* had  
“ continual recourse unto, and countenance from, the  
“ Queen’s Majesty in *Holland*; by which means he  
“ had opportunity still to communicate his Trayte-  
“ rous conceptions, and suggestions to both their  
“ Majesties; such as those were concerning his Ma-  
“ jesty’s retiring to a place of Strength, and Decla-  
“ ring himself, and his own advancing his Majesty’s  
“ Service in such a way beyond the Seas, and after  
“ that resorting to his Majesty in such a place of  
“ strength; and divers other things of that nature,  
“ contained in his Letter to the Queen’s Majesty,  
“ and to Sir *Lewis Dives*; a Person, that had not  
“ the least part in this late business of *Hull*, and  
“ was presently despatched away into *Holland*, soon  
“ after his Majesty’s return from *Hull*, for what Pur-  
“ pose, they left the world to judge.

" Upon the refusal of Sir *John Hotham* to admit  
 " his Majesty into *Hull*, presently, without any due  
 " process of Law, before his Majesty had sent up the  
 " narration of this Fact to the Parliament, he was  
 " proclaimed Traytor; and yet it was said, that  
 " therein was no violation of the Subjects' Rights,  
 " nor any breach of the Law, nor of the Privilege of  
 " Parliament, though Sir *John Hotham* be a Member  
 " of the House of Commons; and that his Majesty  
 " must have better reason, than bare Votes, to believe  
 " the contrary; although the Votes of the Lords and  
 " Commons in Parliament, being the Great Council  
 " of the Kingdom, are the reason of the King, and  
 " of the Kingdom: yet these Votes, they said, did  
 " not want clear, and apparent reason for them; for  
 " if the solemn proclaiming him a Traytor signify  
 " any thing, it puts a Man, and all those that any  
 " way aid, assist, or adhere unto him, in the same  
 " condition of Traytors; and draws upon him all  
 " the consequences of Treason: And if that might be  
 " done by Law, without due process of Law, the  
 " Subject hath a very poor defence of the Law; and  
 " a very small, if any proportion of Liberty thereby.  
 " And it is as little satisfaction to a Man, that shall be  
 " exposed to such Penalties, by that Declaration of  
 " him to be Traytor, to say, he shall have a Legal  
 " Trial afterwards, as it is to condemn a Man first,  
 " and try him afterwards. And if there could be a ne-  
 " cessity for any such proclaiming a Man a Traytor  
 " without due process or Law, yet there was none  
 " in this case; for his Majesty might as well have ex-  
 " pected the judgment of Parliament (which was



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“ the right way ) as he had leisure to send to them to  
“ demand justice against Sir *John Hotham*. And the  
“ breach of Privilege of Parliament was as clear in  
“ this Case , as the subversion of the Subjects’ Com-  
“ mon right: For, though the Privileges of Parlia-  
“ ment, do not extend to those Cases, mentioned in  
“ the Declaration, of Treason, Felony, and Breach  
“ of Peace, so as to exempt the Members of Parlia-  
“ ment from punishment, nor from all manner of  
“ Process and Trial, as it doth in other Cases; yet it  
“ doth Privilege them in the Way, and Method of  
“ their Trial and Punishment; and that the Parlia-  
“ ment should have the Cause first brought before  
“ them, that they may judge of the Fact, and of the  
“ grounds of the Accusation; and how far forth the  
“ manner of their Trial may concern, or not con-  
“ cern the Privilege of Parliament. Otherwise it  
“ would be in the power, not only of his Majesty,  
“ but of every Private man, under pretensions of  
“ Treasons, or those other Crimes, to take any Man  
“ from his Service in Parliament; and so as many one  
“ after another as he pleaseth; and, consequently, to  
“ make a Parliament what he will, when he will;  
“ which would be a breach of so Essential a Privilege  
“ of Parliament, as that the very Being thereof de-  
“ pends upon it. And therefore they no ways doub-  
“ ted but every One, that had taken the Protestation,  
“ would, according to his Solemn Vow, and Oath,  
“ defend it with his Life, and Fortune. Neither did  
“ the sitting of a Parliament suspend all, or any Law,  
“ in maintaining that Law which upholds the Privi-  
“ lege of Parliament; which upholds the Parliament;  
“ which upholds the Kingdom. And they were so far

“ from believing, that his Majesty was the only Per-  
 “ son against whom Treason could Not be commit-  
 “ ted, that, in some sense, they acknowledged he  
 “ was the only Person against whom it Could be  
 “ committed; that is, as he is King: and that Treason  
 “ which is against the Kingdom, is more against the  
 “ King, than that which is against his Person; because  
 “ he is King: For that very Treason is not Treason,  
 “ as it is against him as a Man, but as a man that is a  
 “ King; and as he hath relation to the Kingdom, and  
 “ stands as a Person intrusted with the Kingdom,  
 “ and discharging that Trust.

“ Now, they said, the Case was truly stated, and  
 “ all the world might judge where the Fault was;  
 “ although they must avow, that there could be no  
 “ competent Judge of this, or any the like Case, but  
 “ a Parliament. And they were as confident, that his  
 “ Majesty should never have cause to resort to any  
 “ other Court, or Course, for the vindication of his  
 “ just Privileges, and for the recovery and mainte-  
 “ nance of his known, and undoubted Rights, if  
 “ there should be any Invasion, or Violation thereof,  
 “ than to his high Court of Parliament: And, in case  
 “ those wicked Counsellors about him, should drive  
 “ him into any other Course from, and against his Par-  
 “ liament, whatever his Majesty's expressions, and in-  
 “ tentions were, they should appeal to all men's Con-  
 “ sciences; and desire, that they would lay their hands  
 “ upon their hearts, and think with themselves, whe-  
 “ ther such Persons, as had of late, and still did resort  
 “ unto his Majesty, and had his ear, and favor most,  
 “ either had been, or were more Zealous Assertors of

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“ the true Protestant Profession (although they be-  
 “ lieved they were more earnest in the Protestant  
 “ Profession, than in the Protestant Religion) or the  
 “ Law of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and  
 “ the Privileges of the Parliament, than the Members  
 “ of both Houses of Parliament; who were insinuated  
 “ to be Deserters, if not the Destroyers of them: And  
 “ whether if they could master this Parliament by  
 “ force, they would not hold up the same power to  
 “ deprive us of all Parliaments; which are the Ground,  
 “ and Pillar of the Subjects’ Liberty, and that which  
 “ only maketh *England* a free Monarchy.

“ For the Order of Assistance to the Committee of  
 “ both Houses; as they had no Directions or Instruc-  
 “ tions, but what had the Laws for their Limits,  
 “ and the Safety of the Land for their Ends, so they  
 “ doubted not but all persons mentioned in that  
 “ Order, and all his Majesty’s good Subjects, would  
 “ yield obedience to his Majesty’s Authority, signifi-  
 “ ed therein by both Houses of Parliament. And that  
 “ all Men might the better know their duty in  
 “ matters of that nature, and upon how sure a ground  
 “ They go, that follow the judgment of Parliament  
 “ for their Guide, they wished them judiciously to  
 “ consider the true meaning, and ground of that  
 “ Statute made in the eleventh Year of King H. VII. *ch. 1.*  
 “ which was printed at large in the end of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Message of the four h of *May*: That Statute  
 “ provides, that none who shall attend upon the  
 “ King, and do him true Service, should be attaint-  
 “ ed, or forfeit any thing. What was the Scope  
 “ of that Statute? To provide that Men should not

“ suffer as Traytors, for serving the King in his Wars  
 “ according to the duty of their Allegiance? If this  
 “ had been all, it had been a very needless, and ridi-  
 “ culous Statute. Was it then intended ( as They  
 “ seemed to take the meaning of it to be, that caused  
 “ it to be printed after his Majesty’s Message ) that  
 “ They should be free from all Crime and Penalty,  
 “ that should follow the King, and serve him in War  
 “ in any case whatsoever ; whether it were for, or  
 “ against the Kingdom, and the Laws thereof? That  
 “ could not be ; for that could not stand with the duty  
 “ of their Allegiance ; which, in the beginning of the  
 “ Statute , was exprest to be to serve the King for  
 “ the time being in his Wars, for the defence of Him,  
 “ and the Land; and therefore if it be against the Land  
 “ ( as it cannot be understood to be otherwise , if it  
 “ be against the Parliament, the Representative body  
 “ of the kingdom ) it is a declining from the duty of  
 “ Allegiance ; which this Statute supposed may be  
 “ done, though Men should follow the King’s Person  
 “ in the War : Otherwise there had been no need of  
 “ such a Proviso in the end of the Statute , that none  
 “ should take the benefit thereby , that should  
 “ decline from their Allegiance. That therefore  
 “ which is the principal Verb in this Statute is , The  
 “ serving of the King for the time being; which could  
 “ not be meant of *Perkin Warbeck*, or any that should  
 “ call himself King ; but such a One, as whatever his  
 “ Title might prove, either in Himself, or in his An-  
 “ cestors, should be received and acknowledged for  
 “ such by the Kingdom ; the Consent whereof cannot  
 “ be discerned but by Parliament ; the Act whereof



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“ is the Act of the whole Kingdom, by the Personal  
“ Suffrage of the Peers, and the delegate Consent of  
“ all the Commons of *England*

“ And *Henry* the VII a wise King considering that  
“ what was the case of *Rich. III* his Predecessor,  
“ might, by chance of battle, be his own; and that  
“ he might at once, by such a Statute as this, satisfy  
“ such, as had served his Predecessor in his Wars,  
“ and also secure those, which should serve Him,  
“ who might otherwise fear to serve him in the  
“ Wars; lest, by chance of Battle, That might  
“ happen to him also (if a Duke of *Dork* had set up a  
“ Title against him) which had happened to his Pre-  
“ decessor, he procured this Statute to be made, That  
“ no Man should be accounted a Traytor for serving  
“ the King, in his Wars, for the time being, that is,  
“ which was for the present allowed, and received  
“ by the Parliament in behalf of the Kingdom: And,  
“ as it is truly suggested in the preamble of the  
“ Statute, it is not agreeable to Reason or Conscience,  
“ that it should be otherwise; seeing Men should be  
“ put upon an Impossibility of knowing their Duty,  
“ if the judgment of the highest Court should not be  
“ a Rule, and Guide to them. And if the judgment  
“ thereof should be followed, where the Question is,  
“ who is King? much more, what is the best Service  
“ of the King, and Kingdom? And therefore those,  
“ who should guide themselves by the judgment of  
“ Parliament ought, whatever happen, to be secure  
“ and free from all Account and Penalties, upon  
“ the Grounds and Equity of this very Statute.

“ They said, they would conclude, that although

“ those wicked Counsellors about his Majesty, had  
 “ presumed, under his Majesty’s Name, to put that  
 “ dishonor, and affront upon both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment; and to make Them the countenancers of  
 “ Treason, enough to have dissolved all the bands,  
 “ and sinews of the confidence between his Majesty,  
 “ and his Parliament (of whom the Maxim of the  
 “ Law is, that a dishonorable thing ought not to be  
 “ imagined of them) yet they doubted not, but it  
 “ should, in the end, appear to all the world, that  
 “ their endeavours had been most hearty and sincere,  
 “ for the maintenance of the true Protestant Reli-  
 “ gion; the King’s just Prerogative; the Laws, and  
 “ Liberties, of the Land; and the Privileges of Parlia-  
 “ ment: in which endeavours, by the Grace of God,  
 “ they would still persist, though they should perish  
 “ in the work; which if it should be, it was much to  
 “ be feared, that Religion, Laws, Liberties, and Par-  
 “ liaments, would not be long-lived after them.”

This Declaration wrought more upon the minds of  
 Men, than all that they had done: for the business  
 at *Hull* was, by very many, thought to be done  
 before projected; and the Argument of the Militia  
 to be entered upon at first in passion, and afterwards  
 pursued with that vehemence, insensibly, by being  
 engaged, and that both extravagances had so much  
 weighed down the King’s Trespases, in coming to  
 the House and accusing the Members, that a reason-  
 able agreement would have been the sooner con-  
 sented to on all hands. But when, by this Declara-  
 tion, they saw Foundations laid, upon which not  
 only what had been already done, would be well

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**B O O K** justified. but whatsoever they should, hereafter, find  
**v.** convenient to second what was already done; and that not only the King, but the Regal Power was either suppressed, or deposited in other hands; the irregularity, and monstrosity of which Principles found little opposition or resistance, even for the Irregularity, and Monstrosity: Very many thought it as unsafe to be present at those Consultations, as to consent to the Conclusions; and so great Numbers of the Members of both Houses absented themselves; and many, especially of the House of Peers resorted to his Majesty at *York*. So that, in the Debates of the highest consequence, there was not usually present, in the House of Commons, the fifth part of their just Numbers; and, very often, not above a Dozen or Thirteen, in the House of Peers. In the mean time the King had a full Court, and received all Comers with great clemency, and grace; calling always all the Peers to Council and communicating with them all such Declarations, as he thought fit to publish in Answer to those of the Parliament; and all Messages, and whatever else was necessary to be done for the improvement of his condition: And, having now the Great Seal with him, issued such Proclamations, as were seasonable for the preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom. First he published a Declaration in Answer to that of the nineteenth of *May*, in which his Majesty said,

His Majesty's  
 Answer to the  
 Declaration of  
 the 19 of May.

“ That if he could be weary of taking any pains  
 “ for the satisfaction of his People, and to undeceive  
 “ them of those specious, mischievous insinuations,  
 “ which were daily instilled into them to shake, and

“ corrupt their Loyalty, and Affection to his Majesty  
“ and his Government, after so full, and ample Decla-  
“ ration of himself and Intentions, and so fair and  
“ satisfactory Answers to all such matters as had been  
“ objected to him, by a Major part present of both  
“ Houses of Parliament, He might well give over  
“ that labor of his Pen; and sit still, till it should  
“ please God to enlighten the affections, and under-  
“ standings of his good Subjects on his behalf (which  
“ he doubted not, but that, in His good Time, he  
“ would do) that they might see His sufferings were  
“ Their sufferings: but since, instead of applying  
“ themselves to the method, proposed by his Majesty,  
“ of making such solid particular Propositions, as  
“ might establish a good understanding between  
“ them, or of following the advice of his Council of  
“ *Scotland* (with whom they communicated their  
“ affairs) in forbearing all means that might make the  
“ breach wider, and the wound deeper; they had  
“ chosen to pursue his Majesty with new Reproaches,  
“ or rather to continue and improve the old, by ad-  
“ ding, and varying little Circumstances and Lan-  
“ guage, in matters formerly urged by them, and fully  
“ Answered by his Majesty, He had prevailed with  
“ himself, upon very mature and particular considera-  
“ tion of it, to Answer the late printed Book enti-  
“ tled a Declaration, or Remonstrance of the Lords  
“ and Commons, which was ordered, the nineteenth  
“ of *May* last, to be printed and published; hoping  
“ then, that they would put his Majesty to no more of  
“ that trouble, but that That should have been the last  
“ of such a Nature they would have communicated to



BOOK V. “ his People; and that they would not, as they had  
 “ done since, have thought fit to assault him with a  
 “ newer Declaration, indeed of a very New nature,  
 “ and Learning; which should have another Answer:  
 “ and he doubted not, but that his good Subjects  
 “ would, in short time, be so well instructed in the  
 “ differences, and mistakings between them, that  
 “ they would plainly discern, without resigning their  
 “ reason and understanding to His Perogative, or the  
 “ Infallibility of a new Major part of both Houses of  
 “ Parliament (infected by a few Malignant Spirits)  
 “ where the Fault was.

“ His Majesty said, though he should, with all  
 “ humility and alacrity, be always forward to ac-  
 “ knowledge the Infinite Mercy, and Providence of  
 “ Almighty God, vouchsafed, so many several ways,  
 “ to Himself and this Nation; yet since God himself  
 “ doth not allow, that we should fancy, and create  
 “ dangers to ourselves, that we might manifest, and  
 “ publish his Mercy in our Deliverance; he must pro-  
 “ fess, that he did not know those Deliverances,  
 “ mentioned in the beginning of that Declaration,  
 “ from so many wicked Plots and Designs, since the  
 “ beginning of this Parliament, which, if they had  
 “ taken effect, would have brought ruin and destruc-  
 “ tion upon this Kingdom. His Majesty well knew  
 “ the great labor and skill, which had been used to  
 “ amuse, and affright his good Subjects with fears,  
 “ and apprehensions of Plots and Conspiracies;  
 “ the several Pamphlets published, and Letters  
 “ scattered up and down, full of such ridiculous,  
 “ contemptible animadversions to that purpose,

“ as (though they found, for what end God knows,  
“ very unusual countenance) no Sober man would  
“ be moved with them. But, he must confess, he  
“ had never been able to inform himself of any such  
“ pernicious, formed design against the Peace of the  
“ Kingdom, since the beginning of this Parliament,  
“ as was mentioned in that Declaration, or which  
“ might be any Warrant to those great Fears, both  
“ Houses of Parliament seemed to be transported  
“ with; but he had great reason to believe, that  
“ more mischief and danger had been raised and be-  
“ gotten, to the disturbance of the Kingdom, than  
“ cured and prevented, by those Fears, and Jeal-  
“ ousies. And therefore, however the rumor,  
“ and discourse of Plots and Conspiracies, might  
“ have been necessary to the designs of particular  
“ Men, they should do well not to pay any false  
“ Devotions to Almighty God, who discerns whe-  
“ ther our dangers are real, or pretended.

“ For the bringing up of the Army to *London*,  
“ as his Majesty had heretofore, by no other direc-  
“ tion than the testimony of a good Conscience,  
“ called God to Witness that he never had, or knew  
“ of, any such Resolution; so he said, upon the  
“ view of the Depositions now published with that  
“ Declaration, it was not evident to his Majesty,  
“ that there was ever such a Design; unless every  
“ loose Discourse, or Argument, be evidence enough  
“ of a Design; And it was apparent, that what had  
“ been said of it, was near three Months before the  
“ Discovery to both Houses of Parliament; so that  
“ if there were any danger threatened that way,

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“ it vanished without any resistance or prevention  
 “ by the Wisdom, Power, or Authority of Them.  
 “ It seemed the intention of that Declaration,  
 “ whatsoever other End it had, was to Answer a  
 “ Declaration, they had received from his Majesty,  
 “ in Answer to that which was presented to his  
 “ Majesty at *New-Market*, the ninth of *March* last;  
 “ and likewise his Answer to the Petition of both  
 “ Houses presented to him at *York*, the 26<sup>th</sup> of *March*:  
 “ But, before it fell upon any Particular of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Declaration or Answer, it complained that  
 “ the Heads of the Malignant Party had with much  
 “ Art and Industry, advised him to suffer divers  
 “ unjust Scandals, and Imputations upon the Parlia-  
 “ ment, to be published in His Name, whereby  
 “ they might make it odious to the People, and, by  
 “ their help, destroy it: but not instancing in any  
 “ one Scandal, or Imputation, so published by his  
 “ Majesty, he was, he said, still to seek for the  
 “ Heads of that Malignant Party. But his good Sub-  
 “ jects would easily understand, that if he were  
 “ guilty of that aspersion, he must not only be active  
 “ in raising the Scandal, but passive in the mischief  
 “ begotten by that Scandal, his Majesty being an  
 “ Essential part of the Parliament; and he hoped the  
 “ just Defence of Himself and his Authority, and the  
 “ necessary Vindication of his Innocence and Justice,  
 “ from the imputations laid on him, by a Major part  
 “ then present of either or both Houses, should no  
 “ more be called a Scandal upon the Parliament, than  
 “ the Opinion of such a part be reputed an Act of  
 “ Parliament: And he hoped his good Subjects would

“ not be long misled, by that common expression  
“ in all the Declarations, wherein they usurp the  
“ word Parliament, and apply it to countenance any  
“ Resolution or Vote some few had a mind to make,  
“ by calling it the Resolution of Parliament; which  
“ could never be without his Majesty’s Consent;  
“ neither could the Vote of either or both Houses  
“ make a greater alteration in the Laws of the King-  
“ dom (so solemnly made by the advice of their Pre-  
“ decessors, with the Concurrence of his Majesty  
“ and his Ancestors) either by commanding, or in-  
“ hibiting any thing (besides the known rule of the  
“ Law) than his single Direction or Mandate could  
“ do, to which he did not ascribe that Authority.

“ But that Declaration informed the People, that  
“ the Malignant Party had drawn his Majesty into  
“ the Northern Parts, far from his Parliament. It  
“ might, his Majesty said, more truly and properly  
“ have said, that it had Driven, than Drawn him  
“ thither; for, he confessed, his Journey thither (for  
“ which he had no other reason to be sorry, than  
“ with reference to the Cause of it) was only forced  
“ upon him, by the true Malignant Party; which  
“ contrived and countenanced those barbarous Tu-  
“ mults and other seditious Circumstances, of which  
“ he had so often complained, and hereafter should  
“ say more; and which indeed threatened so much  
“ danger to his Person, and laid so much Scandal upon  
“ the Privilege, and Dignity of Parliament, that he  
“ wondered it could be mentioned without blushes  
“ or indignation: But of that, anon: But why the  
“ Malignant Party should be charged with the causing



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“ a Press to be transported to *York*, his Majesty said,  
 “ he could not imagine; neither had any Papers or  
 “ Writings issued from thence, to His knowledge,  
 “ but what had been extorted from him by such  
 “ Provocations, as had not been before offered to a  
 “ King. And, no doubt, it would appear a most tri-  
 “ vial, and fond Exception, when all Presses were  
 “ open to vent whatsoever they thought fit to say to  
 “ the People (a thing unwarranted by former custom)  
 “ that his Majesty should not make use of all Lawful  
 “ means, to publish his just, and necessary Answers  
 “ thereunto. As for the Authority of the Great Seal  
 “ (though he did not know that it had been neces-  
 “ sary to things of that nature) the same should be  
 “ more frequently used hereafter, as occasion should  
 “ require; to which he made no doubt, but the  
 “ greater, and better part of his Privy-Council would  
 “ concur; and whose advice he was resolved to fol-  
 “ low, as far as it should be agreeable to the Good,  
 “ and Welfare of the Kingdom.

“ Before that Declaration vouchsafed to insist upon  
 “ any Particulars, it was pleased to censure both his  
 “ Majesty’s Declaration and Answer to be filled with  
 “ harsh Censures, and causeless Charges upon the Par-  
 “ liament (still misapplying the word Parliament to  
 “ the Vote of both Houses) concerning which they  
 “ resolve to give satisfaction to the Kingdom, since  
 “ they found it very difficult to satisfy his Majesty.  
 “ If, as in the usage of the word Parliament, they  
 “ had left his Majesty out of their thoughts. so by the  
 “ word Kingdom, they intended to exclude all his  
 “ People who were not within their Walls (for that

was

“ was grown another Phrase of the time, the Vote of  
 “ the Major part of both Houses, and sometimes of one,  
 “ was now called the Resolution of the whole King-  
 “ dom) his Majesty believed, it might not be hard to  
 “ give satisfaction to Themselves ; otherwise he was  
 “ confident ( and, he said, his confidence proceeded  
 “ from the uprightness of his own Conscience ) they  
 “ would never be able so to sever the Affections of his  
 “ Majesty and his Kingdom, that what could not be  
 “ satisfaction to the One, should be to the Other :  
 “ Neither would the Style of Humble, and Faithful,  
 “ and telling his Majesty, that they will make him a  
 “ Great and Glorious King, in their Petitions and  
 “ Remonstrances, so deceive his good Subjects, that  
 “ they would pass over the Reproaches, Threats, and  
 “ Menaces they were stuffed with ; which surely  
 “ could not be more gently reprehended by his Ma-  
 “ jesty , than by saying, their Expressions were dif-  
 “ ferent from the usual Language to Princes ; which  
 “ that Declaration told him, he had no occasion to  
 “ say : But he believed, whosoever looked over that  
 “ Declaration, presented to him at *New-market*, to  
 “ which his was an Answer, would find the Lan-  
 “ guage throughout it to be so Unusual, that, before  
 “ this Parliament, it could never be paralleled ; whilst,  
 “ under pretence of justifying their Fears, they gave  
 “ so much countenance to the discourse of the Rebels  
 “ of *Ireland* , as if they had a mind his good Subjects  
 “ should give credit to it : Otherwise, being warrant-  
 “ ed by the same evidence , which they have since  
 “ published, they would have as well declared. That  
 “ those Rebels publicly threaten the rooting out the

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“ Name of the English, and that they will have a  
 “ King of their own, and no longer be governed by  
 “ his Majesty; as that they say, That they do no-  
 “ thing, but by his Majesty’s Authority; and that  
 “ they call themselves the Queen’s Army. And there-  
 “ fore he had great reason to complain of the absence  
 “ of Justice and Integrity in that Declaration; besides  
 “ the unfitness of other Expressions.

“ Neither did his Majesty mistake the Substance, or  
 “ Logic of their Message to him, at *Theobald’s*, con-  
 “ cerning the Militia; which was no other, and was  
 “ stated to be no other, even by that Declaration that  
 “ reproved him, than a plain Threat, That if his Ma-  
 “ jesty refused to join with them, they would make a  
 “ Law without him: Nor had the Practice since that  
 “ time been other; which would never be justified to  
 “ the most ordinary if not partial understandings, by  
 “ the mere averring it to be according to the Funda-  
 “ mental Laws of this Kingdom without giving any  
 “ directions, that the most Cunning and Learned  
 “ Men in the Laws might be able to find those Foun-  
 “ dations. And he would appeal unto all the world,  
 “ whether they might not, with as much Justice,  
 “ and by as much Law, have seized upon the Estate  
 “ of every Member of both Houses, who dissented  
 “ from that pretended Ordinance ( which much the  
 “ Major part of the House of Peers did, two or three  
 “ several times ) as they had invaded that Power of  
 “ His over the Militia, because he, upon reasons they  
 “ had not so much as pretended to Answer, refused  
 “ to Consent to that Proposition.

“ And if no better Effects, than loss of Time, and

“ hinderance of the public Affairs, had been found  
 “ by his Answers and Replies, all good Men might  
 “ judge by whose Default, and whose want of Duty,  
 “ such Effects had been; for as his End, indeed his  
 “ only End, in those Answers and Replies, had been  
 “ the settlement and composure of public Affairs; so,  
 “ he was assured, and most Men did believe, that if  
 “ that dueregard and reverence had been given to his  
 “ Words, and that consent and obedience to his  
 “ Counsels, which he expected there had been, be-  
 “ fore that time, a cheerful calm upon the face of the  
 “ whole Kingdom; every Man enjoying his own,  
 “ with all possible peace and security that can be ima-  
 “ gined; which surely those Men did not desire, who  
 “ (after all those Acts of Justice, and Favor passed by  
 “ him, this Parliament; all those Sufferings, and  
 “ Affronts, endured and undergone by him) thought  
 “ fit still to reproach him with Ship-money, Coat and  
 “ Conduct money. and other things so abundantly  
 “ declared, as that Declaration itself confessed, in the  
 “ general Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom,  
 “ published in *November* last; which his Majesty  
 “ wondered to find now avowed to be the Remon-  
 “ strance of both Houses; and which, he was sure,  
 “ was presented to him only by the House of Com-  
 “ mons; and did never, and, he was confident, in that  
 “ time could never, have passed the House of Peers;  
 “ the Concurrence, and Authority of which, was not  
 “ then thought necessary. Should his Majesty believe  
 “ those Reproaches to be the Voice of the Kingdom  
 “ of *England*, That all his loving Subjects eased re-  
 “ freshed, strengthened, and abundantly satisfied with



B O O B “ his Acts of Grace and Favor towards them, were  
 V. “ willing to be involved in those unthankful Expressions? He would appeal to the Thanks and Acknowledgments published in the Petitions of most of the Counties of *England*; to the Testimony, and Thanks, he had received from both Houses of Parliament; how seasonable, how agreeable that usage was to his Majesty's Merit, or their former Expressions.

“ His Majesty said, he had not at all swerved, or departed from his Resolutions, or Words, in the beginning of this Parliament: He had said, he was resolved to put himself freely, and clearly upon the Love and Affection of his English Subjects: and he said so still, as far as concerns *England*. And he called Almighty Good to Witness, all his Complaints and Jealousies, which had never been causeless, nor of his Houses of Parliament (but of some few Schismatical, Factionous, and Ambitious Spirits; and upon grounds, as he feared, a short time would justify to the world) his Denial of the Militia, his absenting himself from *London*, had been the effects of an upright, and faithful Affection to his English Subjects; that he might be able, through all the Inconveniences he might be compelled to wrestle with, at last to preserve, and restore their Religion, Laws, and Liberties unto them.

“ Since the Proceeding against the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the five Members, was still looked upon, and so often pressed, as so great an advantage against his Majesty, that no Retractation made by him, nor no Action, since that time committed against Him,

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“ and the Law of the Land, under the pretence of  
 “ Vindication of Privilege, could satisfy the Con-  
 “ trivers of that Declaration, but that they would  
 “ have his good Subjects to believe, the Accusation  
 “ of those six Members must be a Plot for the break-  
 “ ing the Neck of the Parliament (a strange Arro-  
 “ gance if any of those Members had the Penning of  
 “ that Declaration) and that it was so often urged  
 “ against him, as if by that single, casual Mistake of  
 “ his, in Form only, he had forfeited all Duty, Cre-  
 “ dit, and Allegiance from his People, he said, he  
 “ would, without endeavouring to excuse that,  
 “ which in truth was an Error (his going to the House  
 “ of Commons) give his People, a full, and clear  
 “ narration of the matter of Fact; assuring himself,  
 “ that his good Subjects would not find his carriage  
 “ in that business, such as had been reported.

“ His Majesty said, that when he resolved, upon  
 “ such grounds, as, when they should be published,  
 “ would satisfy the World, that it was fit for his own  
 “ Safety, and Honor, and the Peace of the Kingdom,  
 “ to proceed against those Persons, though he well  
 “ knew, there was no degree of Privilege in that  
 “ Case; yet, to show his desire of Correspondence  
 “ with the two Houses of Parliament, he chose rather  
 “ than to apprehend their Persons by the ordinary  
 “ Ministers of Justice (which, according to the opi-  
 “ nion, and practice of former times, he might have  
 “ done) to Command his Attorney General, to ac-  
 “ quaint his House of Peers with his intention, and  
 “ the general matters of his Charge (which was yet  
 “ more particular, than a mere accusation) and to

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“ proceed accordingly ; and at the same time sent a  
“ sworn Servant, a Serjeant at Arms, to the House of  
“ Commons, to acquaint them , that his Majesty did  
“ accuse , and intended to prosecute the five Mem-  
“ bers of that House for High - Treason ; and did  
“ require , that their Persons might be secured in  
“ Custody. This he did , not only to show that he  
“ intended not to Violate, or Invade their Privileges,  
“ but to use more Ceremony towards them , than he  
“ then conceived in justice might be required of him ;  
“ and expected at least such an Answer , as might  
“ inform him , if he were out of the way ; but he  
“ received none at all ; only , in the instant , without  
“ offering any thing of their Privileges to his con-  
“ sideration, an Order was made, and the same Night  
“ published in Print, That if any Person whatsoever,  
“ should offer to Arrest the Person of any Member of  
“ that House , without first acquainting that House  
“ therewith, and receiving further Order from that  
“ House , that it should be Lawful for such Member,  
“ or any Person , to resist them , and to stand upon  
“ his , or their Guard of Defence ; and to make Re-  
“ sistance , according to the Protestation taken to  
“ Defend the Privilege of Parliament : And this was  
“ the first time that he heard the Protestation might  
“ be wrested to such a sense , or that in any Case ,  
“ though of the most undoubted and unquestionable  
“ Privilege , it might be Lawful for any Person to  
“ resist , and use violence against a public Minister  
“ of Justice , armed with Lawful Authority ; though  
“ his Majesty well knew , that even such a Minister  
“ might be punished for executing such Authority.

“ Upon Viewing that Order, his Majesty confessed, he was somewhat amazed, having never seen,  
 “ or heard of the like; though he had known Members of either House committed, without so much  
 “ Formality as he had used, and upon Crimes of a  
 “ far inferior nature to those he had suggested; and  
 “ having no course proposed him for his Proceeding,  
 “ he was, upon the matter, only told, that against  
 “ those Persons he was not to proceed at all; that they  
 “ were above His reach, or the reach of the Law. It  
 “ was not easy for him to resolve what to do: If he  
 “ employed his Ministers of Justice in the usual way  
 “ for their apprehension, who without doubt would  
 “ not have refused to have executed his Lawful Com-  
 “ mands, he saw what opposition, and resistance, was  
 “ like to be made; which, very probably, might have  
 “ cost some Blood: If he sat still, and desisted upon  
 “ that Terror, he should, at the best, have confessed  
 “ his own want of Power, and the weakness of the  
 “ Law. In that strait, he put on a sudden Resolution,  
 “ to try whether his own Presence, and a clear  
 “ discovery of his Intention, which happily might  
 “ not have been so well understood, could remove  
 “ those Doubts, and prevent those Inconveniences,  
 “ which seemed to have been threatened; and there-  
 “ upon, he Resolved to go, in his own Person, to  
 “ the House of Commons; which he discovered not,  
 “ till the very minute of his going; when he sent out  
 “ Orders, that his Servants, and such Gentlemen as  
 “ were then in his Court, should attend him to *West-*  
 “ *minster*; but giving them express Command, as he  
 “ had expressed in his Answer to the Ordinance,



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“ that no Accidents, or Provocation, should draw  
 “ them to any such Action, as might imply a pur-  
 “ pose of Force in his Majesty; And Himself, requi-  
 “ ring those of his Train not to come within the  
 “ Door, went into the House of Commons; the  
 “ bare doing of which, he did not then conceive,  
 “ would have been thought more a breach of Pri-  
 “ vilege, than if he had gone to the House of Peers,  
 “ and sent for them to come to him; which was the  
 “ usual Custom.

“ He used the best Expressions he could, to assure  
 “ them how far he was from any intention of viola-  
 “ ting their Privileges; that he intended to proceed  
 “ legally, and speedily against the Persons he had  
 “ accused; and desired therefore, if they were in the  
 “ House, that they might be delivered to him; or  
 “ if absent, that such course might be taken for their  
 “ forth-coming, as might satisfy his just Demands;  
 “ and so he departed, having no other purpose of  
 “ Force, if they had been in the House, than he had  
 “ before protested, before God, in his Answer to  
 “ the Ordinance. They had an account now of His  
 “ part of that story fully; his People might judge  
 “ freely of it. What followed on Their part (though  
 “ that Declaration said, it could not withdraw any  
 “ part of their Reverence and Obedience from his  
 “ Majesty; it might be any part of Theirs it did  
 “ not) he should have too much cause hereafter to  
 “ inform the World.

“ His Majesty said, there would be no end of this  
 “ discourse, and of upbraiding him with evil Coun-  
 “ sellors, if, upon his constant denial of knowing any,

“ they would not vouchsafe to inform him of them ;  
“ and after eight Months amusing the Kingdom with  
“ the expectation of the discovery of a Malignant  
“ Party, and of evil Counsellors, they would not at  
“ last name any, nor describe them. Let the Actions  
“ or Lives of Men be examined, Who had Contrived,  
“ Counsell’d, actually consented to Grieve, and  
“ Burden his People ; and if such were now about  
“ his Majesty, or any against whom any notorious,  
“ malicious Crime could be proved, if he sheltered  
“ and protected any such, let his Injustice be published  
“ to the World : but till that were done Particularly  
“ and Manifestly ( for he should never conclude any  
“ Man upon a bare, general Vote of the Major part  
“ of either, or both Houses, till it were evident, that  
“ that Major part was without Passion or Affection )  
“ he must look upon the charge that Declaration put  
“ upon him, of cherishing and countenancing a  
“ Discontented Party of the Kingdom against them,  
“ as a heavier and unjust Tax upon his Justice and  
“ Honor, than any He had, or could lay, upon the  
“ Framers of that Declaration. And now, to  
“ countenance those unhandsome Expressions, whereby  
“ they usually had implied his Majesty’s Counivance  
“ at, or want of Zeal against, the Rebellion of  
“ *Ireland* ( so odious to all good Men ) they had  
“ found a new way of exprobration : That the  
“ Proclamation against those bloody Traytors came  
“ not out, till the beginning of *January*, though that  
“ Rebellion broke out in *October*, and then, by  
“ special Command from his Majesty, but forty  
“ Copies were appointed to be Printed. His

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“ Majesty said it was well known where he was at  
“ that time, when that Rebellion broke forth; in  
“ *Scotland*; That He immediately, from thence, re-  
“ commended the Care of that Business to both  
“ Houses of Parliament here, after he had provided  
“ for all fitting Supplies from his Kingdom of *Scot-*  
“ *land*: That after his return hither, he observed all  
“ those Forms for that Service, which he was ad-  
“ vised to by his Council of *Ireland* or both Houses  
“ of Parliament here, and if no Proclamation issued  
“ out sooner (of which, for the present, he was not  
“ certain; but thought that others, by his directions,  
“ were issued before that time) it was, because the  
“ Lords Justices of the Kingdom desired them no  
“ sooner; and when they did, the Number they de-  
“ sired was but Twenty; which they advised might  
“ be signed by his Majesty; which he, for expedition  
“ of the Service, commanded to be Printed, a Cir-  
“ cumstance not required by them; thereupon he  
“ signed more of them, than his Justices desired; all  
“ which was very well known to some Members of  
“ one, or both Houses of Parliament; who had the  
“ more to Answer, if they forbore to express it at  
“ the passing of that Declaration; and if they did  
“ express it, he had the greater reason to complain,  
“ that so envious an Aspersión should be cast on his  
“ Majesty to his People, when they knew well how  
“ to Answer their own Objection.

“ What that Complaint was against the Parlia-  
“ ment, put forth in His Name, which was such an  
“ Evidence and Countenance to the Rebels, and  
“ spoke the same Language of the Parliament which  
“ the Rebels did; he said he could not understand.

“ All his Answers and Declarations had been, and  
“ were, owned by himself; and had been attested  
“ under his own hand, if any other had been pub-  
“ lished in his Name, and without his Authority, it  
“ would be easy for both Houses of Parliament to  
“ discover, and apprehend the Authors: And he  
“ wished, that whosoever was trusted with the Draw-  
“ ing, and Penning that Declaration, had no more  
“ Authority, or Cunning to impose upon, or de-  
“ ceive a Major part of those Votes, by which it  
“ passed, than any Man had to prevail with his Ma-  
“ jesty to publish in his Name any thing, but the  
“ sense, and Resolution of his own Heart; or that the  
“ Contriver of that Declaration could, with as good  
“ a Conscience, call God to witness, that all his  
“ Counsels and Endeavours had been free from all  
“ private Aims, personal Respects or Passions what-  
“ soever, as his Majesty had done, and did, That  
“ he never had, or knew of any such Resolution of  
“ bringing up the Army to *London*.

“ And since that new Device was found out in-  
“ stead of Answering his reasons, or satisfying his  
“ just demands, to blast his Declarations and An-  
“ swers, as if they were not his own; a bold, senseless  
“ Imputation: He said he was sure, that every An-  
“ swer, and Declaration, published by his Majesty,  
“ was much more his own, than any one of those  
“ bold, threatening, and reproachful Petitions, and  
“ Remonstrances, were the Acts of either, or both  
“ Houses. And if the Penner of that Declaration  
“ had been careful of the Trust reposed in him, he  
“ would never have denied (and thereupon found  
“ fault with his Majesty's just indignation) in the



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V.

“ Text or Margin, that his Majesty had never been  
 “ charged with the Intention of any Force; and that  
 “ in their whole Declaration, there was no one word  
 “ tending to any such reproach; the contrary where-  
 “ of was so evident, that his Majesty was, in express  
 “ terms, charged in that Declaration, that he had sent  
 “ them gracious Messages, when, with His privity,  
 “ bringing up the Army was in agitation; and, even  
 “ in that Declaration they sought to make the People  
 “ believe some such thing to be proved, in the Depo-  
 “ sitions therewith published; wherein, his Majesty  
 “ doubted not, they would as much fail, as they did  
 “ in their Censure of that Petition, showed formerly  
 “ to his Majesty by Captain *Leg*, and subscribed by  
 “ him C. R. which, notwithstanding his Majesty’s  
 “ full, and particular Narration of the substance of  
 “ that Petition, the circumstances of seeing and ap-  
 “ proving it, that Declaration was pleased to say,  
 “ was full of Scandal to the Parliament, and might  
 “ have proved dangerous to the whole Kingdom. If  
 “ they had that dangerous Petition in their hands,  
 “ his Majesty said, he had no reason to believe any  
 “ tenderness towards Him had kept them from com-  
 “ municating it; if they had it not, his Majesty ought  
 “ to have been believed: But that all good People  
 “ might compute their other pretended dangers by  
 “ their clear understanding of that, the noise whereof  
 “ had not been inferior to any of the rest, his Majesty  
 “ said, he had recovered a true Copy of the very Pe-  
 “ tition he had signed with C. R. which should, in fit  
 “ time, be published; and which, he hoped, would  
 “ open the eyes of his good People.

“ Concerning his Warrant for Mr. *Jermyn’s*

“ Passage, his Answer was true, and full; but for his  
“ black Sattin Suit, and white Boots, he could give  
“ no Account. B O O K V.

“ His Majesty had complained in his Declaration,  
“ and, as often as he should have occasion to mention  
“ his return, and residence near *London*, he should  
“ complain, of the barbarous and seditious Tumults  
“ at *White-Hall*, and *Westminster*; which indeed had  
“ been so full of Scandal to his Government, and  
“ danger to his Person, that he should never think  
“ of his return thither, till he had Justice for what  
“ was past, and Security for the time to come: And  
“ if there were so great a necessity, or desire of his  
“ return, as was pretended, in all this time, upon so  
“ often pressing his desires, and upon causes so noto-  
“ rious, he should at least have procured some Order  
“ for the future. But that Declaration told his Ma-  
“ jesty he was, upon the matter mistaken; the resort  
“ of the Citizens to *Westminster* was as lawful, as the  
“ resort of great Numbers every day in the Term to  
“ the Ordinary Courts of Justice; They knew no  
“ Tumults. Strange! was the disorderly appearance  
“ of so many thousand People, with Staves and  
“ Swords, crying through the Streets, *Westminster-*  
“ *Hall*, the Passage between both Houses (inasmuch  
“ as the Members could hardly pass to and fro) *No*  
“ *Bishops, down with the Bishops*, No Tumults?  
“ What Member was there of either House, that  
“ saw not those Numbers, and heard not those Cries?  
“ And yet lawful Assemblies! Were not several  
“ Members of either House, assaulted, threatened,  
“ and evilly treated? And yet no Tumults! Why  
“ made the House of Peers a Declaration, and sent it

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“ down to the House of Commons for the suppress-  
 “ ing of Tumults, if there were no Tumults? And  
 “ if there were any, why was not such a Declaration  
 “ consented to, and published? When the Attempts  
 “ were so visible, and threats so loud to pull down  
 “ the Abby at *Westminster*, had not his Majesty just  
 “ cause to apprehend, that such People might con-  
 “ tinue their work to *White-Hall*? Yet no Tumults?  
 “ What a strange time are We in, that a few im-  
 “ pudent, malicious (to give them no worse term)  
 “ Men, should cast such a Mist of error before the  
 “ eyes of both Houses of Parliament, as that they  
 “ either could not, or would not, see how manifestly  
 “ they injured themselves, by maintaining those  
 “ visible untruths. His Majesty said, he would say no  
 “ more: by the help of God and the Law, he would  
 “ have Justice for those Tumults.

“ From excepting how weightily every Man  
 “ might judge, to what his Majesty had said, that  
 “ Declaration proceeded to censure him for what he  
 “ had not said; for the prudent Omissions in his  
 “ Answers: His Majesty had forborne to say any thing  
 “ of the words spoken at *Kenfington*; or the Articles  
 “ against his dearest Consort, and the Accusation of  
 “ the six Members: Of the last, his Majesty said, he  
 “ had spoken often; and he thought, enough of  
 “ the other two; but having never accused any  
 “ (though God knew what truth there might be in  
 “ either) he had no reason to give any particular  
 “ Answer.

“ He said, he did not reckon himself bereaved of  
 “ any part of his Prerogative; which he was pleased

“ freely . for a time, to part with by Bill ; yet he must  
 “ say . he expressed a great Trust in his two Houses  
 “ of Parliament , when he divested himself of the  
 “ power of dissolving this Parliament ; which was a  
 “ just, necessary, and proper Prerogative. But he was  
 “ glad to hear their resolution , that it should not  
 “ encourage them to do any thing which otherwise  
 “ had not been fit to have been done : If it did , it  
 “ would be such a breach of Trust , as God would  
 “ require an Account for at their hands.

“ For the Militia, he said so much of it before, and  
 “ the Point was so well understood by all Men , that  
 “ he would waste time no more in that Dispute. He  
 “ never had said , there was no such thing as an Or-  
 “ dinance , though he knew that they had been long  
 “ disused , but that there was never any Ordinance ,  
 “ or could be any , without the King’s consent ; and  
 “ that was true : And the unnecessary Precedent ,  
 “ cited in that Declaration , did not offer to prove  
 “ the contrary. But enough of that ; God and the Law  
 “ must determine that business.

“ Neither had that Declaration , given his Majesty  
 “ any satisfaction concerning the Votes of the  
 “ fifteenth and sixteenth of *March* last ; which he must  
 “ declare , and appeal to all the world in the Point ,  
 “ to be the greatest violation of his Majesty’s Privi-  
 “ lege , the Law of the Land , the Liberty of the  
 “ Subject , and the Right of Parliament , that could  
 “ be imagined. One of those Votes was , and there  
 “ would need no other to destroy the King and  
 “ People, That when the Lords and Commons ( it is  
 “ well the Commons are admitted to their part in



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“ Judicature) shall declare what the Law of the Land  
 “ is, the same must be assented to and obeyed; that  
 “ is the sense in few words. Where is every Man’s  
 “ Property; every Man’s Liberty? If the Major part  
 “ of both Houses declare, that the Law is that the  
 “ younger Brother shall inherit; what is become of  
 “ all the Families, and Estates in the Kingdom? If  
 “ they declare, that by the Fundamental Laws of the  
 “ Land, such a rash Action, such an unadvised  
 “ Word, ought to be punished by perpetual Impri-  
 “ sonment, is not the Liberty of the Subject, *durante*  
 “ *benepiacito*, remediless? That Declaration confesses,  
 “ they pretend not to a power of making new Laws;  
 “ that without his Majesty, they could not do That:  
 “ They need no such power, if their Declaration  
 “ could suspend this Statute from being obeyed, or  
 “ executed. If they had power to declare the Lord  
 “ *Digby’s* waiting upon his Majesty, at *Hampton-*  
 “ *Court*, and thence visiting some Officers at *Kingston*,  
 “ with a Coach and six Horses, to be levying of War,  
 “ and High-Treason; and Sir *John Hotham’s* defying  
 “ his Majesty to his face, keeping his Majesty’s  
 “ Town, Fort, and Goods against him, by force of  
 “ Arms, to be an Act of Affection, and Loyalty;  
 “ What needed a power of making new Laws? Or  
 “ would there be such a thing as Law left?

“ He desired his good Subjects to mark the reason,  
 “ and consequence of those Votes; the progress they  
 “ had already made, and how infinite the progress  
 “ might be. First, they Voted the Kingdom was in  
 “ Imminent danger (it was now above three Months  
 “ since they discerned it) from Enemies abroad, and  
 from

“ from a Popish, and disaffected party at home ; that  
 “ is matter of Fact ; the Law follows : This Vote had  
 “ given them Authority by Law, the Fundamental  
 “ Laws of the Kingdom, to order and dispose of the  
 “ Militia of the Kingdom; and, with this Power and  
 “ to prevent that danger, to enter into his Majesty’s  
 “ Towns, seize upon his Magazine, and, by Force,  
 “ keep both from him. Was not that his Majesty’s  
 “ Case? First, they Vote he had an Intention to levy  
 “ War against his Parliament ; that is matter of Fact;  
 “ Then they declare such as shall assist him, to be  
 “ guilty of High-Treason; that is the Law, and  
 “ proved by two Statutes, Themselves knew to be  
 “ repealed. No matter for that, They declare it.  
 “ Upon this ground they exercise the Militia; and so  
 “ actually do that upon his Majesty, which they had  
 “ Voted He intended to do upon Them. Who could  
 “ not see the confusion, that must follow upon such  
 “ Power of Declaring? If they should now Vote that  
 “ his Majesty did not write this Declaration, but that  
 “ such a One did it, which was still matter of Fact;  
 “ and then Declare, that for so doing, he was an  
 “ Enemy to the Common-wealth; what was become  
 “ of the Law that man was born to? And if all their  
 “ Zeal for the defence of the Law, were but to defend  
 “ that which They Declared to be Law; their own  
 “ Votes; it would not be in their power to satisfy any  
 “ Man of their good Intentions to the public Peace,  
 “ but such who were willing to relinquish their Title  
 “ to *Magna-Charta*, and hold their Lives, and For-  
 “ tunes, by a Vote of the Major part of both Houses.  
 “ In a word, his Majesty denied not, but they  
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“ might have power to declare in a particular, doubtful Case, regularly brought before them, what Law is: But to make a general Declaration, whereby the known rule of the Law might be crossed, or altered, they had no power; nor could exercise any, without bringing the Life and Liberty of the Subject to a Lawless, and Arbitrary Subjection.

“ His Majesty had complained (and the world might Judge of the Justice, and Necessity of that complaint) of the multitude of seditious Pamphlets, and Sermons; and that Declaration told him, they knew he had ways enough in his ordinary Courts of Justice to punish those; so his Majesty said, he had to punish Tumults and Riots; and yet they would not serve his turn to keep his Towns, his Forests, and Parks from violence. And it might be, though those Courts had still the Power to punish, they might have lost the skill to define, what Tumults and Riots are; otherwise a Jury in *Southwark*, legally impanelled to examine a Riot there, would not have been superseded and the Sheriff enjoined not to proceed, by virtue of an Order of the House of Commons; which, it seemed, at that time had the sole power of Declaring. But it was no wonder that they who could not see the Tumults, did not consider the Pamphlets and Sermons; though the Author of the *Protestation Protested*, were well known to be *Burton* (that infamous disturber of the Peace of the Church and State) and that he Preached it at *Westminster*, in the hearing of divers Members of the House of Com-

mons. But of such Pamphlets and seditious Preachers (divers whereof had been recommended, if not imposed upon several Parishes, by some Members of both Houses, by what Authority his Majesty knew not) he would hereafter take a further Account.

His Majesty said, he confessed he had little skill in the Laws; and those that had had most, he found now were much to seek: Yet he could not understand or believe, that every ordinary Court, or any Court, had power to raise what Guard they pleased, and under what Command they pleased, Neither could he imagine what dangerous Effects they found by the Guard he appointed them; or indeed any the least occasion, why they needed any Guard at all.

But of all the Imputations, so causelessly and unjustly laid upon his Majesty by that Declaration, he said, he must wonder at that Charge so apparently, and evidently Untrue; That such were continually preferred and countenanced by him, who were friends or favorers or related unto the chief Authors, and Actors of that Arbitrary Power heretofore practised, and complained of: And on the other side, that such as did appear against it, were daily discountenanced, and disgraced. He said, he would know One Person that contributed to the ills of those times, or had dependance upon those that did, whom he did or lately had countenanced, or preferred; nay he was confident (and he looked for no other at their hands) as they had been always most Eminent Asserters of the public Liberties; so if they found his Majesty inclined to any thing not agreeable to Honor and Justice, they would leave



BOOK V. “ him to morrow. Whether different Persons had not,  
 “ and did not receive countenance elsewhere, and  
 “ upon what grounds, all men might judge; and  
 “ whether his Majesty had not been forward enough  
 “ to honor and prefer those of the most contrary opi-  
 “ nion, how little comfort soever he had of those  
 “ Preferments, in bestowing of which, hereafter he  
 “ would be more guided by Men’s Actions, than  
 “ Opinions. And therefore he had good cause to  
 “ bestow that admonition (for his Majesty assured  
 “ them, it was an admonition of his Own) upon both  
 “ his Houses of Parliament, to take heed of inclining,  
 “ under the specious shows of Necessity and Danger,  
 “ to the exercise of such an Arbitrary Power, they  
 “ before complained of: the Advice would do no  
 “ harm, and he should be glad to see it followed.

“ His Majesty asked, if all specious Promises, and  
 “ loud Professions, of making him a great and glorious  
 “ King; of settling a greater Revenue upon his Majesty,  
 “ than any of his Ancestors had enjoyed; of making  
 “ him to be honored at home, and feared abroad;  
 “ were resolved into this, That they would be ready  
 “ to settle his Revenue in an Honorable proportion,  
 “ when he should put himself in such a posture of Go-  
 “ vernment, that his Subjects might be secure to enjoy  
 “ his just Protection for their Religion, Laws, and  
 “ Liberties? What posture of Government they  
 “ intended, he knew not; nor could he imagine  
 “ what security his good Subjects could desire  
 “ for their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which  
 “ he had not offered or fully given. And was it  
 “ suitable to the Duty, and Dignity of both Houses  
 “ of Parliament, to Answer his particular, weighty

“ Expressions of the causes of his remove from *London*, so generally known to the Kingdom, with  
 “ a Scoff; That they hoped he was driven from  
 “ thence not by his own fears, but by the fears of  
 “ the Lord *Digby*, and his retinue of Cavaliers? Sure,  
 “ his Majesty said, the Penner of that Declaration,  
 “ inserted that ungrave and insolent Expression, as  
 “ he had done divers others, without the consent,  
 “ or examination of both Houses; who would not  
 “ so lightly have departed from their former professions of Duty to his Majesty.

“ Whether the way to a good understanding between his Majesty, and his People, had been as  
 “ zealously pressed by Them, as it had been professed,  
 “ and desired by Him, would be easily discerned  
 “ by them who observed that He had left no public  
 “ Act undone on His part, which, in the least degree, might be necessary to the peace, plenty,  
 “ and security of his Subjects: And that They had  
 “ not despatched one Act, which had given the least  
 “ evidence of their particular affection, and kindness  
 “ to his Majesty; but on the contrary, had discountenanced and hindered the Testimony other Men  
 “ would give to him of their affections. Witness the  
 “ stopping, and keeping back the Bill of Subsidies,  
 “ granted by the Clergy almost a year since; which,  
 “ though his Personal wants were so notoriously  
 “ known, they would not, to that time, pass; so not  
 “ only forbearing to supply his Majesty themselves,  
 “ but keeping the love and bounty of other Men  
 “ from him; and affording no other Answers to all his  
 “ desires, all his reasons (indeed not to be Answered)

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“ than that he must not make his understanding, or  
 “ reason, the Rule of his Government; but suffer  
 “ himself to be assisted ( which his Majesty never  
 “ denied ) by his Great Council. He said, he required  
 “ no other Liberty to his Will, than the meanest of  
 “ Them did ( he wished they would always use that  
 “ Liberty ) not to consent to any thing evidently  
 “ contrary to his conscience, and understanding:  
 “ And he had, and should always give as much esti-  
 “ mation, and regard to the Advice, and Counsel of  
 “ both Houses of Parliament, as ever Prince had  
 “ done: But he should never, and he hoped his Peo-  
 “ ple would never, account the Contrivance of a  
 “ few Factionous, Seditious Persons, a Malignant Party,  
 “ who would sacrifice the Common-wealth to their  
 “ own fury and ambition, the Wisdom of Parliament;  
 “ and that the justifying, and defending of such Per-  
 “ sons ( of whom, and of their particular, sinister  
 “ ways, to compass their own bad ends, his Majesty  
 “ would shortly inform the world ) was not the way  
 “ to preserve Parliaments, but was the opposing, and  
 “ preferring a few unworthy Persons, before their  
 “ Duty to their King, or their Care of the Kingdom.  
 “ They would have his Majesty remember, that His  
 “ Resolutions did concern Kingdoms, and therefore  
 “ were not to be moulded by his own understanding:  
 “ He said, he did well remember it; but he would have  
 “ Them remember, that when their Consultations  
 “ endeavoured to lessen the Office, and Dignity of a  
 “ King, they meddled with that which is not within  
 “ their determination, and of Which his Majesty must  
 “ give an account to God, and his other Kingdoms,  
 “ and must maintain with the Sacrifice of his Life.

“ Lastly, that Declaration told the People of a B O O K  
 “ present, desperate, and malicious Plot the Malig- V.  
 “ nant Party was then acting, under the plausible  
 “ notions of stirring Men up to a care of preserving  
 “ the King’s Prerogative; maintaining the discipline  
 “ of the Church, upholding and continuing the reve-  
 “ rence, and solemnity of God’s Service; and encour-  
 “ aging Learning ( indeed plausible, and Honorable  
 “ notions to act any thing upon) and that upon  
 “ those grounds divers mutinous Petitions had been  
 “ framed in *London*, *Kent*, and other places: His Ma-  
 “ jesty asked upon what grounds these Men would  
 “ have Petitions framed? Had so many Petitions,  
 “ even against the form, and constitution of the King-  
 “ dom and the Laws established, been joyfully re-  
 “ ceived, and accepted? And should Petitions framed  
 “ upon those grounds be called Mutinous? Had a  
 “ multitude of mean, unknown, inconsiderable, con-  
 “ temptible Persons, about the City, and Suburbs of  
 “ *London*, had liberty to Petition against the Govern-  
 “ ment of the Church, against the Book of Common-  
 “ Prayer, against the Freedom, and Privilege of  
 “ Parliament, and been thanked for it: and should  
 “ it be called Mutiny, in the greatest and best Citi-  
 “ zens of *London*, and the Gentry and Commonalty  
 “ of *Kent*, to frame Petitions upon those grounds; and  
 “ to desire to be governed by the known Laws of the  
 “ Land, not by Orders and Votes of either, or both  
 “ Houses? Could this be thought the Wisdom, and  
 “ Justice of both Houses of Parliament? Was it not  
 “ evidently the work of a Faction, within or without  
 “ both Houses, who deceived the Trust reposed in



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“ them; and had now told his Majesty, what Mutiny  
“ was? To stir Men up to a care of preserving his  
“ Prerogative, maintaining the discipline of the  
“ Church, upholding and continuing the reverence,  
“ and solemnity of God’s Service, encouraging of  
“ Learning. was Mutiny. Let Heaven and Earth,  
“ God and Man, judge between his Majesty and  
“ these Men: And however such Petitions were there  
“ called Mutinous; and the Petitioners threatened,  
“ discountenanced, censured, and imprisoned; if  
“ they brought such Petitions to his Majesty he  
“ would graciously receive them; and defend Them  
“ and their Rights, against what Power soever, with  
“ the utmost hazard of his being.

“ His Majesty said, he had been the longer, to his  
“ very great pain, in this Answer, that he might give  
“ the world satisfaction, even in the most trivial Particulars, which had been objected against him;  
“ and that he might not be again reproached, with  
“ any more prudent Omissions. If he had been compelled to sharper Language, than his Majesty affected, it might be considered, how vile, how insufferable his Provocations had been: And, except  
“ to repel force were to assault, and to give punctual  
“ and necessary Answers to rough and insolent Demands, were to make Invectives, he was confident  
“ the world would accuse his Majesty of too much  
“ mildness; and all his good Subjects would think,  
“ he was not well dealt with; and would judge of  
“ his Majesty, and of their own happiness, and security in him, by his Actions; which he desired might  
“ no longer prosper, or have a Blessing from God

“ upon them, and his Majesty, than they should be  
 “ directed to the Glory of God in the maintenance of  
 “ the true Protestant Profession; to the preservation  
 “ of the Property and Liberty of the Subject, in the  
 “ observation of the Laws; and to the maintenance  
 “ of the Rights and Freedom of Parliament, in the al-  
 “ lowance and protection of all their just Privileges.”

This Declaration was no sooner published, but his Majesty likewise set forth an Answer to that other Declaration, of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May; in which he said,

“ That whosoever looked over the late Remon-  
 “ strance, Entitled *A Declaration of the Lords and*  
 “ *Commons*. of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May, would not think that  
 “ his Majesty had great reason to be pleased with it;  
 “ yet he could not but commend the plain dealing,  
 “ and ingenuity of the framers, and contrivers of that  
 “ Declaration (which had been wrought in a hotter  
 “ and quicker Forge than any of the rest) who would  
 “ no longer suffer his Majesty to be Affronted by  
 “ being told, They would make him a great and glo-  
 “ rious King; whilst they used all possible skill, to  
 “ reduce him to extreme want, and indigency; and  
 “ that they would make him to be loved at Home,  
 “ and feared Abroad; whilst they endeavoured, by  
 “ all possible ways, to render him odious to his good  
 “ Subjects, and contemptible to all Foreign Princes,  
 “ but, like round dealing Men, told him, in plain  
 “ English, That they had done him no wrong, because  
 “ he was not capable of receiving any; and that they  
 “ had taken nothing from him, because he had  
 “ never any thing of his own to lose. If that Doctrine  
 “ were true, and that indeed he ought to be of no

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The King's  
 Answer to  
 the Declara-  
 tion of May  
 26. 1642.

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“ other consideration, than they had informed his  
 “ People in that Declaration, that Gentleman was  
 “ much more excusable, that said publicly, unre-  
 “ proved, That the happiness of the Kingdom did  
 “ not depend on his Majesty, or upon any of the  
 “ Royal branches of that Root: And the other, who  
 “ said, his Majesty was not worthy to be King of  
 “ *England*: Language very monstrous to be allowed  
 “ by either House of Parliament; and of which, by  
 “ the help of God, and the Law, he must have some  
 “ Examination. But, he doubted not, all his good  
 “ Subjects did now plainly discern, through the mas-  
 “ que and vizard of their Hypocrisy, what their  
 “ design was; and would no more look upon the Fra-  
 “ mers and Contrivers of that Declaration, as upon  
 “ both Houses of Parliament ( whose Freedom, and  
 “ just Privileges he would always maintain; and in  
 “ whose behalf, he was as much scandalized as for  
 “ Himself) but as a Faction of Malignant, and Schis-  
 “ matical, and Ambitious Persons; whose design was,  
 “ and always had been, to alter the whole frame of  
 “ Government, both of Church and State; and to  
 “ subject both King and People to their own Lawless,  
 “ Arbitrary Power, and Government: of whose  
 “ Persons, and of whose designs, his Majesty said,  
 “ he would, within a very short time, give his good  
 “ Subjects and the World a full, and, he hoped, a  
 “ satisfactory Narration.

“ The Contrivers and Penners of that Declaration  
 “ (of whom his Majesty would be only understood  
 “ to speak, when he mentioned any of their undutiful  
 “ Acts against him) said, that the great Affairs of the

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“ Kingdom, and the miserable bleeding Condition of  
 “ *Ireland*, would afford them little leisure to spend  
 “ their time in Declarations, Answers, and Replies.  
 “ Indeed, his Majesty said, the miserable, and deplor-  
 “ able Condition of both Kingdoms, would require  
 “ somewhat else at their hands: But he would gladly  
 “ know how they had spent their time since the  
 “ recess (then almost eight Months) but in Declara-  
 “ tions, Remonstrances, and Invectives against his  
 “ Majesty, and his Government; or in preparing  
 “ matter for them. Had his Majesty invited them to  
 “ any such expense of time, by beginning Arguments  
 “ of that Nature? Their Leisure, or their Inclination,  
 “ was not as they pretended: And what was their  
 “ printing and publishing their Petitions to him; their  
 “ Declarations, and Remonstrances of him; their  
 “ odious Votes and Resolutions, sometimes of one,  
 “ sometimes of both Houses, against his Majesty  
 “ (never in that manner communicated before this  
 “ Parliament) but an Appeal to the People? And,  
 “ in God’s name, let them judge of the Persons they  
 “ had trusted.

“ Their first quarrel was (as it was always, to let  
 “ them into their frank expressions of his Majesty,  
 “ and his Actions) against the Malignant Party;  
 “ whom they were pleased still to call, and never to  
 “ prove to be his evil Counsellors. But indeed nothing  
 “ was more evident by their whole Proceedings,  
 “ than that by the Malignant Party, they intended  
 “ all the Members of both Houses who agreed not  
 “ with them in their Opinion (thence had come their  
 “ distinction of good, and bad Lords; of Persons ill



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“ affected to the House of Commons; who had been  
“ proscribed, and their Names listed, and read in Tum-  
“ ults ) and all the Persons of the Kingdom who ap-  
“ prove not of their Actions So that, if in truth they  
“ would be ingenuous, and name the Persons they  
“ intended; Who would be the Men, upon whom  
“ the imputation of Malignity would be cast, but  
“ They who had stood stoutly, and immutably for  
“ the Religion, the Liberties, the Laws, for all public  
“ Interest? ( so long as there was any to be stood for )  
“ They, who had always been, and still were, as  
“ zealous Professors, and some of them as able, and  
“ earnest Defenders of the Protestant Doctrine against  
“ the Church of *Rome*, as any were; Who had often,  
“ and earnestly besought his Majesty to consent, that  
“ no indifferent, and unnecessary Ceremony, might  
“ be pressed upon weak, and tender consciences,  
“ and that he would agree to a Bill for that purpose?  
“ They to whose Wisdom, Courage, and Counsel,  
“ the Kingdom owed as much as it could to Subjects;  
“ and upon whose unblemished Lives, Envy itself  
“ could lay no imputation; nor endeavoured to lay  
“ any, until their Virtues brought them to his Ma-  
“ jesty’s Knowledge, and Favor? His Majesty said, if  
“ the Contrivers of that Declaration would be faith-  
“ ful to themselves, and consider all those Persons of  
“ both Houses, whom they, in their own consciences,  
“ knew to dissent from them in the Matter, and Lan-  
“ guage of that Declaration, and in all those unduti-  
“ ful Actions of which he complained, they would  
“ be found in Honor, Fortune, Wisdom, Reputation,  
“ and Weight, if not in Number, much superior to  
“ them. So much for the evil Counsellors.

“ Then what was the evil Counsel itself ? His Ma-  
 “ jesty’s coming from *London* ( where He, and many,  
 “ whose affections to him were very eminent, were  
 “ in danger every day to be torn in pieces ) to *York*;  
 “ where his Majesty, and all such as would put them-  
 “ selves under his Protection might live, he thanked  
 “ God and the Loyalty and Affection of that good  
 “ People, very securely : His not submitting himself  
 “ absolutely ( and renouncing his own understand-  
 “ ing ) to the Votes, and Resolutions of the Contri-  
 “ vers of that Declaration, when they told his Ma-  
 “ jesty, that they were above him ; and might, by his  
 “ own Authority, do with his Majesty what they  
 “ pleased : and his not being contented, that all his  
 “ good Subjects, Lives, and Fortunes, should be dis-  
 “ posed of by their Votes ; but by the known Law  
 “ of the Land. This was the evil Counsel given, and  
 “ taken : And would not all Men believe, there  
 “ needed much power and skill of the Malignant  
 “ Party, to infuse that Counsel into him ? And then,  
 “ to apply the Argument the Contrivers of that De-  
 “ claration made for themselves, was it probable or  
 “ possible, that such Men, whom his Majesty had  
 “ mentioned ( who must have so great a share in the  
 “ misery ) should take such pains in the procuring  
 “ thereof ; and spend so much time, and run so many  
 “ hazards, to make themselves Slaves, and to ruin  
 “ the Freedom of this Nation ?

“ His Majesty said ( with a clear, and upright Con-  
 “ science to God Almighty ) whosoever harboured  
 “ the least thought in his breast, of ruining or violat-  
 “ ing the public Liberty, or Religion of the Kingdom,

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“ or the just Freedom and Privilege of Parliament,  
“ let him be Accursed; and he should be no Coun-  
“ sellor of His, that would not say *Amen*. For the  
“ Contrivers of that Declaration, he had not said  
“ any thing, which might imply any Inclination in  
“ them to be Slaves. That which he had charged  
“ them with, was invading the public Liberty; and  
“ his presumption might be very strong and vehe-  
“ ment, that, though they had no mind to be Slaves,  
“ they were not unwilling to be Tyrants: What is  
“ Tyranny, but to admit no rules to govern by, but  
“ their own Wills? And they knew the misery of  
“ *Athens* was at the highest, when it suffered under  
“ the thirty Tyrants.

“ His Majesty said, if that Declaration had told  
“ him (as indeed it might. and as in justice it ought  
“ to have done) that the Precedents of any of his  
“ Ancestors did fall short, and much below what had  
“ been done by Him, this Parliament, in point of  
“ Grace, and Favor to his People; he should not  
“ otherwise have wondered at it, than at such a truth  
“ in such a place. But when to justify their having  
“ done more than ever their Predecessors did, it told  
“ his good Subjects (as most injuriously and inso-  
“ lently it did) that the highest, and most unwarrant-  
“ able Precedents of any of his Predecessors did fall  
“ short, and much below what had been done to  
“ them this Parliament by Him, he must confess him-  
“ self amazed, and not able to understand them; and  
“ he must tell those ungrateful Men (who durst tell  
“ their King, that they might, without want of Mo-  
“ desty and Duty. Depose him) that the condition of  
“ his Subjects, when, by whatsoever Accidents and

“ Conjunctures of time , it was at worst under his  
 “ power , unto which , by no default of His , they  
 “ should be ever again reduced , was , by many de-  
 “ grees , more pleasant and happy , than that to which  
 “ their furious pretence of Reformation had brought  
 “ them. Neither was his Majesty affraid of the high-  
 “ est Precedents of other Parliaments , which those  
 “ men Boldly (his good Subjects would call it worse)  
 “ told him they might , without want of Modesty or  
 “ Duty , make their Patterns. If he had no other se-  
 “ curity against those Precedents , but Their modesty  
 “ and duty , he was in a miserable condition , as all  
 “ Persons would be who depended upon Them.

“ That Declaration would not allow his Inference ,  
 “ that by avowing the Act of Sir *John Hotham* , they  
 “ did destroy the Title , and Interest of all his Sub-  
 “ jects to their Lands , and Goods ; but confessed , if  
 “ they were found Guilty of that Charge , it were  
 “ indeed a very great Crime. And did they not , in  
 “ that Declaration , admit themselves guilty of that  
 “ very Crime ? Did they not say , Who doubts but  
 “ that a Parliament may dispose of any thing , wherein  
 “ his Majesty , or his Subjects had a right , in such a  
 “ way as that the Kingdom might not be in danger  
 “ thereby ? Did they not then call Themselves this  
 “ Parliament , and challenge that Power without his  
 “ Consent ? Did they not extend that Power to all  
 “ Cases , where , the necessity or Common Good of  
 “ the Kingdom was concerned ? And did they not  
 “ arrogate to themselves alone , the Judgment of  
 “ that Danger , that Necessity , and that Common  
 “ Good of the Kingdom ? What was , if that were



BOOK " not, to unsettle the security of all Men's Estates;  
 V. " and to expose them to an Arbitrary Power of their  
 " own? If a Faction should at any time by cunning,  
 " or force, or absence, or accident, prevail over a  
 " Major part of both Houses; and pretend that there  
 " were evil Counsellors, a Malignant Party, about  
 " the King; by whom the Religion, and Liberty of  
 " the Kingdom, were both in danger (this they  
 " might do, they had done it then) they might take  
 " away, be it from the King, or People, whatsoever  
 " they, in their judgments, should think fit. This  
 " was Lawful, they had declared it so: Let the  
 " world judge, whether his Majesty had charged  
 " them unjustly: and whether they were not guilty  
 " of the Crime, which themselves confessed (being  
 " proved) was a great One; and how safely his Ma-  
 " jesty might commit the power, those People de-  
 " fired, into Their hands; who in all probability,  
 " would be no sooner possessed of it, than they  
 " would revive that Tragedy, which Mr. *Hooker*  
 " related of the Anabaptists in *Germany*; who, talk-  
 " ing of nothing but Faith, and of the true Fear of  
 " God, and that Riches and Honor were Vanity; at  
 " first, upon the great opinion of their Humility,  
 " Zeal, and Devotion, procured much reverence,  
 " and estimation with the People; after finding how  
 " many Persons they had ensnared with their Hypo-  
 " crisy, they begun to propose to themselves to re-  
 " form both the Ecclesiastical, and Civil Govern-  
 " ment of the State: Then, because possibly they  
 " might meet with some opposition, they secretly  
 " entered into a League of Association; and shortly  
 after,

“ after, finding the power they had gotten with the  
 “ credulous People, enriched themselves with all  
 “ kind of Spoil and Pillage; and justified them-  
 “ selves upon our Saviour’s promise, *The meek shall*  
 “ *inherit the Earth*; and declared Their Title was the  
 “ same which the righteous *Israelites* had to the  
 “ Goods of the wicked *Egyptians*: His Majesty said,  
 “ this story was worth the reading at large, and nee-  
 “ ded no application.

“ But his Majesty might by no means say, that He  
 “ had the same Title to his Town of *Hull*, and the  
 “ Ammunition there, as any of his Subjects had to  
 “ their Land, or Money: That was a Principle,  
 “ that pulled up the Foundation of the Liberty and  
 “ Property of every Subject. Why? because the  
 “ King’s Property in his Towns, and in his Goods  
 “ bought with the public Money, as they conceive  
 “ his Magazine at *Hull* to be, was inconsistent with  
 “ the Subjects’ property in their Lands, Goods, and  
 “ Liberty. Did those Men think, that as they assu-  
 “ med a power of declaring Law (and whatsoever  
 “ contradicted that Declaration broke their Privi-  
 “ leges) so that they had a power of declaring Sense,  
 “ and Reason, and imposing Logic, and Syllogisms  
 “ on the Schools, as well as Law upon the People?  
 “ Did not all Mankind know that several Men  
 “ might have several Rights, and Interests in the self-  
 “ same House and Land, and yet neither destroy the  
 “ other? Was not the Interest of the Lord *Paramount*  
 “ consistent with that of the *Mesne* Lord; and His  
 “ with that of the Tenant; and yet their Properties  
 “ or Interests not at all confounded? And why

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“ might not his Majesty then have a full, Lawful  
 “ Interest, and Property in his Town of *Hull* and  
 “ yet his Subjects have a Property in their Houses  
 “ too? But he could, not sell, or give away at his  
 “ Pleasure this Town and Fort, as a private Man  
 “ might do his Lands or Goods. What then? Many  
 “ men have no Authority to let, or set their Leases,  
 “ or sell their Land, have they therefore no Title to  
 “ them or Interest in them? May they be taken  
 “ from them, because they cannot sell them? He  
 “ said, the purpose of his Journey to *Hull*, was neither  
 “ to sell, or give it away.

“ But for the Magazine, the Munition there, that  
 “ he bought with his own Money, he might surely  
 “ have sold that, lent, or given it away. No; he  
 “ bought it with the public Money, and the Proof  
 “ is, They conceive it so; and, upon that Conceit,  
 “ had Voted, that it should be taken from him. Ex-  
 “ cellent Justice! suppose his Majesty had kept that  
 “ Money by him, and not bought Arms with it,  
 “ would they have taken it from him upon that  
 “ Conceit: Nay might they not, wheresoever that  
 “ Money was ( for through how many hands soever  
 “ it hath passed, it is the public Money still, if ever  
 “ it were ) seize it, and take it from the owners?  
 “ But the Towns, Forts, Magazines, and King-  
 “ dom, is intrusted to his Majesty; and he is a  
 “ person trusted. His Majesty said, he was so. God,  
 “ and the Law had trusted him; and he had taken an  
 “ Oath to discharge that Trust, for the good and  
 “ safety of the People. What Oaths They had taken,  
 “ he knew not, unless those, which, in that violence,  
 “ they had manifestly, maliciously violated. Might

“ any thing be taken from a Man, because he is  
 “ trusted with it? Nay, may the Person himself take  
 “ away the thing he trusts, when he will, and in  
 “ what manner he will? The Law had been other-  
 “ wise, and, he believed, would be so held, notwith-  
 “ standing their Declarations.

“ But that Trust ought to be managed by their  
 “ Advice, and the Kingdom had trusted Them for  
 “ that purpose. Impossible, that the same Trust  
 “ should be irrecoverably committed to his Majesty,  
 “ and his Heirs for ever, and the same Trust, and a  
 “ Power above that Trust (for so was the Power  
 “ they pretended) be committed to others. Did not  
 “ the People, that sent them, look upon them as a  
 “ body but temporary, and dissolvable at his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s pleasure? And could it be believed, that  
 “ they intended them for his Guardians, and Con-  
 “ trollers in the managing of that Trust, which God  
 “ and the Law had granted to Him, and to his  
 “ Posterity for ever? What the extent of the Com-  
 “ mission, and Trust was, nothing could better  
 “ teach them than the Writ, whereby they are met.  
 “ His Majesty said, he called them (and without  
 “ that call, they could not have come together) to  
 “ be his Counsellors, not Commanders (for how-  
 “ ever they frequently confounded them, the Offices  
 “ were several) and Counsellors not in all things,  
 “ but in some things, *de quibusdam arduis*, &c. And  
 “ they would easily find among their Precedents,  
 “ that Queen *Eliz.* upon whose time all good Men  
 “ looked with reverence, committed one *Wentworth*,  
 “ a Member of the House of Commons, to the

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“ Tower, sitting the House, but for proposing that  
 “ they might advise the Queen in a matter she  
 “ thought they had nothing to do to meddle in But  
 “ his Majesty is trusted: And is He the only Person  
 “ trusted? And might they do what their own incli-  
 “ nation and fury led them to? Were They not  
 “ trusted by his Majesty, when he first sent for them;  
 “ and were they not trusted by him, when he passed  
 “ them his promise, that he would not Dissolve  
 “ them? Could it be presumed ( and presumptions  
 “ go far with Them ) that he trusted them with a  
 “ power to destroy himself, and to dissolve his Go-  
 “ vernment, and Authority? If the People might be  
 “ allowed to make an equitable construction of the  
 “ Laws and Statutes, a Doctrine avowed by them,  
 “ would not all his good Subjects swear, he never  
 “ intended by that Act of Continuance, that they  
 “ should do what they have since done? Were they  
 “ not trusted by those that sent them? And were  
 “ they trusted to alter the Government of Church  
 “ and State; and to make themselves perpetual Dic-  
 “ tators over the King, and People? Did they in-  
 “ tend, that the Law itself should be subject to their  
 “ Votes; and that whatsoever They said, or did,  
 “ should be Lawful, because They Declared it so?  
 “ The Oaths they had taken who sent them, and  
 “ without taking which, themselves were not capa-  
 “ ble of their place in Parliament, made the one in-  
 “ capable of giving, and the other of receiving such  
 “ a Trust; unless they could persuade his good Sub-  
 “ jects, that his Majesty is the only supreme Head,  
 “ and Governor in all Causes, and over all Persons,  
 “ within his Dominions; and yet that They had a

“ Power over him to constrain him to manage his B O O K  
 “ Trust, and Govern his Power, according to their V.  
 “ Discretion.

“ The Contrivers of that Declaration told his  
 “ Majesty, that they would never allow him (an  
 “ humble, and dutiful expression) to be judge of the  
 “ Law; That belonged only to Them; They might,  
 “ and must, judge and declare. His Majesty, said,  
 “ they all knew what power the Pope, under pre-  
 “ tence of interpreting Scriptures, and declaring Ar-  
 “ ticles of Faith, though he decline the making the  
 “ one or the other, had usurped over Men’s consci-  
 “ ences; and that, under color of having power of  
 “ ordering all things for the Good of Men’s Souls, he  
 “ entitles himself to all the Kingdoms of the world:  
 “ He would not accuse the Framers of that Declara-  
 “ tion (how bold soever they were with his Majesty)  
 “ that they inclined to Popery, of which another  
 “ Maxim was, That all Men must submit their  
 “ Reason and Understanding, and the Scripture it-  
 “ self, to that declaring power of his: Neither would  
 “ he tell them, though They had told Him so, that  
 “ they use the very Language of the Rebels of *Ire-*  
 “ *land*: and yet they say those Rebels declare, that  
 “ whatsoever they do, is for the Good of the King  
 “ and Kingdom. But his good Subjects would easily  
 “ put the case to themselves, whether if the Papists  
 “ in *Ireland* in truth were, or, by Art or Accident,  
 “ had made themselves the Major part of both Hou-  
 “ ses of Parliament there; and had pretended the  
 “ Trust in that Declaration from the Kingdom of  
 “ *Ireland*; thereupon, had Voted their Religion and

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“ Liberty to be in danger of extirpation from a  
 “ Malignant Party of Protestants, and Puritans ;  
 “ and therefore, that they would put themselves into  
 “ a posture of Defence; that the Forts, and the Mi-  
 “ litia of that Kingdom were to be put into the hands  
 “ of such Persons, as they could Confide in; that his  
 “ Majesty was indeed trusted with the Towns, Ports,  
 “ Magazines, Treasures, Offices and People of the  
 “ Kingdom, for the good, safety, and best advantage  
 “ thereof. but as his Trust is for the use of the King-  
 “ dom, so it ought to be managed by the Advice of  
 “ both Houses of Parliament; whom the Kingdom  
 “ had trusted for that purpose, it being their duty to  
 “ see it discharged according to the condition, and  
 “ true intent thereof, and by all possible means to  
 “ prevent the contrary: His Majesty said, let all his  
 “ good Subjects consider, if that Rebellion had been  
 “ plotted with all that formality, and those circum-  
 “ stances declared to be legal, at least according to the  
 “ Equitable sense of the Law, and to be for the pu-  
 “ blic good, and justifiable by necessity, of which  
 “ They were the only Judges, whether, though they  
 “ might have thought their design to be more Cun-  
 “ ning, they would believe it the more Justifiable.

“ Nay let the Framers of that Declaration ask  
 “ themselves, if the evil Counsellors, the Malignant  
 “ Party, the Persons ill affected, the Popish Lords and  
 “ their Adherents, should prove now, or hereafter,  
 “ to be a Major part of both Houses (for it had been  
 “ declared that a great part of both Houses had been  
 “ such, and so might have been the Greater; Nay,  
 “ the greater part of the House of Peers was still de-  
 “ clared to be such, and his Majesty had not heard

“ of any of their conversion; and thereupon it had  
 “ been earnestly pressed, that the Major part of the  
 “ Lords might joyn with the Major part of the House  
 “ of Commons) would his Majesty be bound to con-  
 “ sent to all such alterations, as those Men should  
 “ propose to him, and Resolve to be for the public  
 “ Good: And should the Liberty, Property, and Se-  
 “ curity of all his Subjects, depend on what such  
 “ Votes should declare to be Law? Was the Order  
 “ of the Militia unfit, and unlawful, whilst the  
 “ Major part of the Lords refused to join in it (as  
 “ they had done two or three several times, and it  
 “ was never heard, before this Parliament, that they  
 “ should be so, and so often pressed after a Dissent de-  
 “ clared) and did it grow immediately necessary for  
 “ the public safety, and lawful by the Law of the  
 “ Land, as soon as so many of the dissenting Peers  
 “ were driven away (after their Names had been re-  
 “ quired at the Bar, contrary to the freedom, and  
 “ foundation of Parliament) that the other Opinion  
 “ Prevailed? Did the Life, and Liberty of the Sub-  
 “ ject depend upon such Accidents of days, and  
 “ hours, that it was impossible for him to know his  
 “ Right in either? God forbid.

“ But now, to justify their Invasion of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s ancient, unquestioned, undoubted Right,  
 “ settled and established on his Majesty and his Pos-  
 “ terity by God himself; confirmed, and streng-  
 “ thened by all possible Titles of Compact, Laws,  
 “ Oaths, perpetual and uncontradicted Custom, by  
 “ his People; What had they alledged to declare to  
 “ the Kingdom, as they say, the obligation that lieth



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“ upon the Kings of this Realm to pass all such Bills,  
“ as are offered unto them by both Houses of Parlia-  
“ ment? A thing never heard of till that day: An  
“ Oath ( Authority enough for them to break-all  
“ theirs ) that is, or ought to be, taken by the Kings  
“ of this Realm, which is as well to remedy by Law  
“ such Inconveniencies the King may suffer, as to  
“ keep, and protect the Laws already in being: And  
“ the Form of this Oath, they said, did appear upon  
“ a Record there cited; and by a Clause in the Pream-  
“ ble of a Statute, made in the 25<sup>th</sup> year of *Edw. III.*

“ His Majesty said, he was not enough acquainted  
“ with Records to know whether that were fully,  
“ and ingenuously cited; and when, and how, and  
“ why, the several Clauses had been inserted, or  
“ taken out of the Oaths formerly administered to  
“ the Kings of this Realm: Yet he could not possibly  
“ imagine the assertion that Declaration made, could  
“ be deduced from the words, or the matter of that  
“ Oath: for unless they had a power of declaring  
“ Latin, as well as Law sure *elegerit*, signified *hath*  
“ chosen, as well as *will* chuse; and that it signified  
“ so there ( besides the Authority of the perpetual  
“ Practice of all succeeding times: a better Inter-  
“ preter than their Votes ) it was evident, by the  
“ reference it had to customs, *consuetudines quas vul-*  
“ *gus elegerit*: And could that be a Custom, which  
“ the People should chuse after this Oath taken?  
“ And should a King be sworn to defend such Cus-  
“ toms? Besides could it be imagined, tha the should  
“ be bound by Oath to pass such Laws ( and such a  
“ Law was the Bill they brought to him of the Mili-  
“ tia ) as should put the power, wherewith he was

“ trusted, out of Himself into the hands of other Men;  
 “ and divert and disable himself of all possible power  
 “ to perform the great business of the Oath; which  
 “ was to protect them? If his Majesty gave away all  
 “ his power, or if it were taken from him, he could  
 “ not protect any Man: And what discharge would  
 “ it be for his Majesty, either before God or Man,  
 “ when his Good Subjects, whom God and the Law  
 “ had committed to his charge, should be worried  
 “ and spoiled, to say that he trusted others to protect  
 “ them? That is, to do that Duty for him, which  
 “ was essentially, and inseparably his own. But that  
 “ all his good Subjects might see how faithfully these  
 “ Men, who assumed this Trust from them, desired  
 “ to discharge their Trust; he would be contented  
 “ to publish for their satisfaction (a matter notorious  
 “ enough, but what he himself never thought to  
 “ have been put to publish, and of which the Framers  
 “ of that Declaration might as well have made use, as  
 “ of a Latin Record they knew many of his good  
 “ Subjects could not, and many of themselves did  
 “ not understand) the Oath itself he took at his Co-  
 “ ronation, warranted and enjoined to it by the  
 “ Customs, and directions of his Predecessors; and  
 “ the Ceremony of theirs, and his taking it; they  
 “ might find it in the Records of the Exchequer;  
 “ This it is:”

The Sermon being done, the Arch-Bishop goeth  
 to the King, and asks his willingness to take the  
 Oath usually taken by his Predecessors:

The King sheweth himself willing, and goeth to  
 the Altar; the Arch-Bishop administers these Ques-  
 tions, and the King Answereth them severally:

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*Episcopus.* Sir, will you grant and keep, and by your Oath confirm to the People of *England*, the Laws and Customs to them granted by the Kings of *England*, your Lawful and Religious Predecessors: And namely the Laws, Customs, and Franchises granted to the Clergy, by the Glorious King Saint *Edward*, your Predecessor, according to the Laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel established in this Kingdom, and agreeable to the Prerogative of the Kings thereof, and the Ancient Customs of this Realm?

*Rex.* I grant, and promise to keep them.

*Episc.* Sir, will you keep Peace, and godly agreement entirely, according to your power, both to God, the Holy Church, the Clergy, and the People.

*Rex.* I will keep it.

*Episc.* Sir, will you to your Power, cause Law, Justice, and Discretion, in Mercy and Truth, to be executed in all your Judgments?

*Rex.* I will.

*Episc.* Sir, will you grant to hold, and keep the Laws, and rightful Customs, which the Commonalty of this your Kingdom have; and will you defend, and uphold them to the Honor of God, so much as in you lieth?

*Rex.* I grant, and promise so to do.

Then one of the Bishops reads this Admonition to the King, before the People, with a loud Voice.

Our Lord and King, we beseech you, to pardon, B O O K  
 and to grant, and to preserve unto us, and to the V.  
 Churches committed, to our Charge, all Canonical  
 Privileges, and due Law, and Justice; and that you  
 would protect, and defend us, as every good King in  
 his Kingdom ought to be Protector, and Defender of  
 the Bishops, and Churches under their Government.

### The King Answereth;

With a willing and devout Heart I promise, and  
 grant my Pardon; and that I will preserve and  
 maintain to you, and the Churches committed to  
 your Charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law,  
 and Justice, and that I will be your Protector and  
 Defender, to my Power, by the assistance of God,  
 as every good King in this Kingdom in right ought to  
 protect, and defend the Bishops, and the Churches  
 under their Government.

Then the King ariseth, and is led to the Com-  
 munion-Table: where He makes a solemn Oath in  
 sight of all the People, to observe the Premises; and,  
 laying his Hand upon the Book, sayeth:

### The OATH,

The things which I before promised, I shall per-  
 form, and keep: So help me God, and the Contents  
 of this Book.

His Majesty said, "all the World might judge,  
 " whether such Doctrine, or such Conclusions, as  
 " those Men brought, could follow, or have the least  
 " pretence, from that Oath: For the Preamble of



BOOK V. “ the Statute they cited , that told his Majesty, that  
 “ the King was bound to remedy , by Law, the  
 “ mischiefs and damages which happen to his People :  
 “ his Majesty said , he was so ; but asked whether the  
 “ King were bound, by the Preamble of that Statute,  
 “ to renounce his own judgment, his own under-  
 “ standing in those mischiefs, and of these remedies ?  
 “ How far forth he was obliged to follow the judge-  
 “ ment of his Parliament, that Declaration still con-  
 “ fessed to be a question. Without question , he  
 “ said, none could take upon them to remedy even  
 “ mischiefs, but by Law, for fear of greater mischiefs  
 “ than those they go about to remedy.

“ But his Majesty was bound in justice to consent  
 “ to their Proposals, because there was a Trust repo-  
 “ sed in his Majesty to preserve the Kingdom , by  
 “ making new Laws : He said , he was glad there was  
 “ so ; then he was sure no new Law could be made  
 “ without His Consent ; and that the gentleness of  
 “ his Answer , *le Roy S'avisera* , if it be no Denial , it  
 “ is no Consent ; and then the matter was not great.  
 “ They would yet allow his Majesty a greater lati-  
 “ tude of granting , or denying , as he should think  
 “ fit , in public Acts of Grace , as Pardons , or the  
 “ like Grants of Favor : Why did they so ? If those  
 “ Pardons , and public Acts of Grace were for the  
 “ public Good ( which they might Vote them to be )  
 “ they would then be absolutely in their own dis-  
 “ posal : But had they left that power to his Majesty ?  
 “ They had sure , at least, shared it with him , How  
 “ else had they got the power to pardon Serjeant-  
 “ Major General *Skippon* ( a new Officer of State,

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V.

“ and a Subject his Majesty had no Authority to send  
 “ to speak with ) and all other Persons employed by  
 “ them, and such as had employed themselves for  
 “ them, not only for what they had done, but for  
 “ what they should do ? If they had power to declare  
 “ such Actions to be no Treason, which his Majesty  
 “ would not pardon ; such Actions to be Treason,  
 “ which need no pardon ; the Latitude they allowed  
 “ his Majesty of granting, or denying of Pardons,  
 “ was a Jewel they might still be content to suffer his  
 “ Majesty to wear in his Crown, and never think  
 “ themselves the more in danger.

“ All this considered, the Contriver of that Mes-  
 “ sage ( since they would afford his Majesty no better  
 “ Title ) whom they were angry with, did not con-  
 “ ceive, the People of this Land to be so void of  
 “ Common Sense, as to believe his Majesty, who had  
 “ denied no one thing for the ease, and benefit of  
 “ them, which in Justice or Prudence could be asked,  
 “ or in Honor and Conscience could be granted, to  
 “ have cast off all care of the Subject’s Good ; and  
 “ the Framers, and Devisers of that Declaration  
 “ ( who had endeavoured to render his Majesty  
 “ odious to his Subjects, and them disloyal to him,  
 “ by pretending such a Trust in Them ) to have only  
 “ taken it up : Neither, he was confident, would  
 “ they be satisfied, when they felt the misery and  
 “ the burdens, which the fury and the malice of  
 “ those People would bring upon them, with being  
 “ told that calamity proceeded from evil Counsell-  
 “ lers, whom no body could name ; from Plots and  
 “ Conspiracies, which no Man could discover ; and

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“ from Fears and Jealousies, which no Man under-  
 “ stood: And therefore, that the consideration of  
 “ it should be left to the Conscience, Reason, Affec-  
 “ tion, and Loyalty of his good Subjects, who do  
 “ understand the Government of this Kingdom, his  
 “ Majesty said, he was well content.

“ His Majesty asked, where the folly and madness  
 “ of those people would end. who would have his  
 “ People believe, that his absenting himself from  
 “ *London*, where, with his safety, he could not stay,  
 “ and the continuing his Magazine at *Hull*, pro-  
 “ ceeded from the secret Plots of the Papists here,  
 “ and to advance the design of the Papists in *Ireland*?  
 “ But it was no wonder that they, who could  
 “ believe Sir *John Hotham's* shutting his Majesty  
 “ out of *Hull*, to be an Act of Affection and Loyalty,  
 “ would believe that the Papists, or the Turk per-  
 “ suaded him to go thither.

“ And could any sober Man think that Declara-  
 “ tion to be the consent of either, or both Houses of  
 “ Parliament, unawed either by fraud or force;  
 “ which (after so many Thanks, and humble Ac-  
 “ knowledgments of his gracious favor in his Mes-  
 “ sage of the twentieth of *January*, so often, and so  
 “ unanimously presented to his Majesty from both  
 “ Houses of Parliament) now told him, that the Mes-  
 “ sage at first was, and, as often as it had been since  
 “ mentioned by him, had been a breach of Privilege  
 “ (of which they had not used to have been so negli-  
 “ gent, as in four Months not to have complained, and  
 “ such a breach had been) and that their own Method  
 “ of proceeding should not be proposed to them;

“ as if his Majesty had only Authority to call them  
“ together, not to tell them what they were to do,  
“ not so much as with reference to his own Affairs.  
“ What their own Method had been, and whither it  
“ had led Them, and brought the Kingdom, all  
“ Men see; what His would have been, if seasonably  
“ and timely applied unto, all Men might judge;  
“ his Majesty would speak no more of it.

“ But see now what excellent Instances, they had  
“ found out, to prove an inclination. if not in his  
“ Majesty, in some about him, to Civil War: Their  
“ going with his Majesty to the House of Commons  
“ (so often urged, and so fully Answered) their at-  
“ tending on him to *Hampton Court*, and appearing  
“ in a Warlike manner at *Kingston upon Thames*;  
“ His going to *Hull*; their drawing their Swords at  
“ *York*, demanding, who would be for the King? the  
“ declaring Sir *John Hotham* Traytor, before the  
“ Message sent to the Parliament; the Propositions  
“ to the Gentry in *York-shire*, to assist his Majesty  
“ against Sir *John Hotham*, before he had received an  
“ Answer from the Parliament: All desperate Instan-  
“ ces of an inclination to a Civil War. Examine them  
“ again: The Manner, and Intent of his going to the  
“ House of Commons, he had set forth at large, in his  
“ Answer to their Declaration of the nineteenth of  
“ *May*; all Men might judge of it. Next, did they  
“ themselves believe, to what purpose soever that  
“ Rumor had served their turn, that there was an  
“ appearance in Warlike manner at *Kingston upon*  
“ *Thames*? Did they not know, that whensoever his  
“ Majesty had been at *Hampton-Court*, since his first



B O O K “ coming to the Crown, there was never a less ap-  
 V. “ pearance, or in a less Warlike manner, than at the  
 “ time they meant? He said, he would say no more,  
 “ but that His appearance in a Warlike manner at  
 “ *Kingston upon Thames*, and Theirs at *Kingston*  
 “ upon *Hull*, was very different? What was meant  
 “ by the drawing of Swords at *York*, and demanding,  
 “ who would be for the King, must be inquired at  
 “ *London*; for, his Majesty believed, very few in  
 “ *York* understood the meaning of it. For his going  
 “ to *Hull*, which they would by no means endure  
 “ should be called a Visit, whether it were not the  
 “ way to prevent, rather than to make a Civil War,  
 “ was very obvious: And the declaring him a Tray-  
 “ tor in the very Act of his Treason, would never be  
 “ thought unreasonable, but by those who believed  
 “ him to be a loving, and loyal Subject; no more  
 “ than the endeavouring to make the Gentlemen of  
 “ that County sensible of that Treason (which they  
 “ were in an honorable and dutiful degree) before  
 “ he received the Answer from both Houses of Par-  
 “ liament: For, if they had been, as his Majesty ex-  
 “ pected they should have been, sensible of that in-  
 “ tolerable injury offered to him, might he not have  
 “ had occasion to have used the affection of these  
 “ Gentlemen? Was he sure that Sir *John Hotham*,  
 “ who had kept him out without their Order (he  
 “ spake of a public Order) would have let him in,  
 “ when they had forbidden him? And if they had not  
 “ such a sense of him (as the case fal out to be) had  
 “ he not more reason to make Propositions to these  
 “ Gentlemen, whose readiness and affection he, or  
 “ his Posterity, would never forget? That

“ But this business of *Hull* sticks still with them; BOOK  
 “ and finding his Questions hard, they are pleased V.  
 “ to Answer his Majesty by asking other Questions  
 “ of Him: No matter for the exceptions against the  
 “ Earl of *New-Castle* (which have been so often urged,  
 “ as one of the principal grounds of their Fears and  
 “ Jealousies; and which drew that Question from  
 “ him) They asked his Majesty, why, when he held  
 “ it necessary, that a Governor should be placed in  
 “ *Hull* Sir *John Hotham* should be refused by him,  
 “ and the Earl of *New-Castle* sent down? His Majesty  
 “ Answered, because he had a better opinion of the  
 “ Earl of *New-Castle* than of Sir *John Hotham*; and  
 “ desired to have such a Governor over his Towns,  
 “ if he must have any, as should keep them for, and  
 “ not against him: And if his going down were in a  
 “ more private way than Sir *John Hotham's*, it was  
 “ because he had not that Authority to make a noise  
 “ by levying and billeting of Soldiers, in a peaceable  
 “ time, upon his good Subjects, as it seemed Sir *John*  
 “ *Hotham* carried down with him. And the Imputa-  
 “ tion which is cast by the way upon that Earl, to  
 “ make his reputation not so unblemished, as he con-  
 “ ceived, and the World believes it to be, and which,  
 “ though it was not ground enough for Judicial Pro-  
 “ ceeding (it is wonder it was not) was yet ground  
 “ enough for suspicion, must be the case of every  
 “ Subject in *England* (and he wished it went no  
 “ higher) if every vile Aspersions, contrived by un-  
 “ known hands, upon unknown or unimaginable  
 “ grounds, which is the way practised to bring  
 “ any Virtuous and deserving Men into obloquy,

BOOK " should receive the least credit, or countenance in  
V. " the world.

" They tell him, their Exception to those Gentle-  
" men, who delivered their Petition to him at *York*,  
" was that they presumed to take the Style upon them  
" of all the Gentry, and Inhabitants of that County;  
" whereas, they say, so many more of as good Qua-  
" lity as themselves, of that County, were of another  
" opinion; and have since, by their Petition to his  
" Majesty, disavowed that Act. Their Information  
" in that point, his Majesty said, was no better than  
" it useth to be; and they would find, that neither  
" the Number, or the Quality of those who have,  
" or will disavow that Petition, was as they imagine;  
" though too many weak Persons were misled  
" (which they did, and would every day more and  
" more understand) by the Faction, Skill, and Indus-  
" try of that True Malignant Party, of which he did,  
" and had reason to complain. They said, they had  
" received no Petition of so strange a nature: What  
" nature? Contrary to the Votes of both Houses:  
" that is, they had received no Petition they had no  
" mind to receive. But his Majesty had told them  
" again, and all his good Subjects would tell them,  
" that they had received Petitions, with joy and ap-  
" probation, against the Votes of both Houses of  
" their Predecessors, confirmed and established into  
" Laws by the consent of his Majesty, and his An-  
" cestors; and allowed those Petitions to carry the  
" Style, and to seem to carry the Desires of Cities,  
" Towns, and Counties, when, of either City, Town,  
" or County, very few known, or considerable Per-  
" sons, had been privy to such Petitions: whereas, in

“ truth, the Petitions delivered to his Majesty, against  
 “ which they except, carried not the Style of all,  
 “ but some of the Gentry and Inhabitants; and im-  
 “ plied no other consent, than such as went Visibly  
 “ along with it.

“ But his Majesty was all this while in a mistake;  
 “ the Magazine at *Hull* was not taken from him.  
 “ Who told them so? They who assure them (and  
 “ whom without breaking their Privileges they must  
 “ believe) that Sir *John Hotham's* shutting the Gates  
 “ against his Majesty, and resisting his entrance with  
 “ armed Men (though he thought it in defiance of  
 “ him) was indeed in obedience to him, and his Au-  
 “ thority; and for His Service, and the Service of  
 “ the Kingdom. He was to let none in, but such as  
 “ came with his Majesty's Authority, signified by  
 “ both Houses of Parliament: himself and they had  
 “ ordered it so. And therefore he kept his Majesty  
 “ out, only till his Majesty or he himself might send  
 “ for their Directions. His Majesty said, he knew  
 “ not whether the Contrivers of that Declaration  
 “ meant, that his good Subjects should so soon under-  
 “ stand, though it was plain enough to be under-  
 “ stood, the meaning of the King's Authority signified  
 “ by both Houses of Parliament: But sure the world  
 “ would now easily discern in what miserable case he  
 “ had, by this time, been (it is bad enough as it is) if  
 “ he had consented to their Bill, or to their Ordin-  
 “ ance of the Militia, and given those Men power to  
 “ have raised all the Arms of the Kingdom against  
 “ him, for the Common Good, by his own Autho-  
 “ rity: Would they not, as they had kept him from



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V.

“ *Hull*, by this time have beaten him from *York*, and  
 “ pursued him out of the Kingdom, in his own behalf?  
 “ Nay might not this Munition, which is not taken  
 “ from him, be employed against him; not against  
 “ his Authority signified by both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment, but only to kill those ill Counsellors, the  
 “ Malignant Party which is about him, and yet for  
 “ His Good, for the Public Good (they would declare  
 “ it so) and so no Treason within the Statute of 25.  
 “ *E. III*? which, by their Interpretation, had left his  
 “ Majesty, the King of *England*, absolutely less pro-  
 “ vided for, in point of safety, than the meanest Sub-  
 “ ject of the Kingdom: And every Subject of this  
 “ Land (for whose security that Law was made, that  
 “ they may know their duty, and their danger in  
 “ breaking of it) may be made a Traytor when these  
 “ Men please to say, he is so. But did they think  
 “ That, upon such an Interpretation (upon pretence  
 “ of Authority of Book-Cases and Precedents, which,  
 “ without doubt, they would have cited, if they had  
 “ been to their purpose) out of which nothing can  
 “ result, but confusion to King and People, would  
 “ find any credit with his good Subjects? And that  
 “ so excellent a Law, made both for security of King  
 “ and People, shall be so eluded, by an interpretation  
 “ no Learned Lawyer in *England* would at this  
 “ hour, be believed, set under his hand, notwith-  
 “ standing the Authority of that Declaration; which,  
 “ he hoped, shall bring nothing but Infamy upon the  
 “ Contrivers of it?

“ Now to their Privileges: Though it be true they  
 “ say, that their Privileges do not extend to Treason,  
 “ Felony, or breach of the Peace, so as to exempt the

“ Members from all manner of Proceſs, and Trial; B O O K  
 “ yet it doth privilege them in the way, or method of V,  
 “ their Trial: the Cauſe muſt be firſt brought before  
 “ Them, and Their conſent aſked, before you can  
 “ proceed. Why then their Privileges extend as far  
 “ in theſe Caſes, as in any that are moſt unqueſtioned;  
 “ for no Privilege whatſoever, exempts them from  
 “ all manner of Proceſs and Trial, if you firſt acquaint  
 “ the Houſe with it, and they give you leave to pro-  
 “ ceed by thoſe Proceſſes, or to that Trial: But, by  
 “ this Rule, if a Member of either Houſe commit a  
 “ Murder, you muſt by no means meddle with him,  
 “ till you have acquainted that Houſe of which he is  
 “ a Member, and received their direction for your  
 “ Proceeding, aſſuring yourſelf, he will not ſtir from  
 “ that place where you left him, till you return with  
 “ their conſent; ſhould it be otherwiſe, it would be  
 “ in the power of every Man, under the pretence of  
 “ Murder, to take one after another, and as many as  
 “ he pleaſeth; and ſo, conſequently, bring a Parlia-  
 “ ment to what he pleaſeth, when he pleaſeth. If a  
 “ Member of either Houſe ſhall take a Purſe at *York*  
 “ (he may as probably take a Purſe from a Subject,  
 “ as Arms againſt the King) you muſt ride to *Lon-*  
 “ *don*, to know what to do, and He may ride with  
 “ you, and take a new purſe every Stage, and muſt  
 “ not be apprehended, or declared a Felon, till you  
 “ have aſked that Houſe of which he is a Member;  
 “ ſhould it be otherwiſe, it might be in every Man’s  
 “ power to accuſe as many Members as he would of  
 “ taking Purſes; and ſo bring a Parliament, and ſo all  
 “ Parliaments, to nothing. Would theſe Men be

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“ believed? And yet they make no doubt but every  
 “ one who hath taken the Protestation, would defend  
 “ this Doctrine with his Life and Fortune. Would not  
 “ his Subjects believe, that they had imposed a pretty  
 “ Protestation upon them; and that they had a very  
 “ good end in the doing of it, if it obligeth them to such  
 “ hazards, to such undertakings? Must they forget  
 “ or neglect his Majesty’s Person, Honor, and Estate,  
 “ which, by that Protestation, they are bound to  
 “ defend; and in some degree, do understand? And  
 “ must they only venture their Lives and Fortunes to  
 “ justify Privileges they know not, or ever heard of  
 “ before? Or are they bound by that Protestation to  
 “ believe that the Framers of that Declaration have  
 “ power to extend their own Privileges, as far as they  
 “ think fit; and to contract his Majesty’s Rights as  
 “ much as they please; and that they are bound to  
 “ believe them in either, and to venture their Lives  
 “ and Fortunes in that Quarrel?

“ From declaring how mean a Person his Majesty  
 “ is, and how much the Kingdom hath been mistaken  
 “ in the understanding of the Statute of the 25. *E. III.*  
 “ concerning Treason, and that all Men need not  
 “ fear levying War against him, so they have Their  
 “ Order to Warrant them; They proceed, in the  
 “ Spirit of Declaring, to certify his Subjects in the  
 “ mistakings, which, near one hundred and fifty  
 “ years, have been received concerning the Statute  
 “ of the 11. *Hen. VII. ch. 1.* (a Statute all good Subjects  
 “ will read with Comfort) and tell them, that the  
 “ serving of the King for the time being, cannot be  
 “ meant of *Perkin Warbeck*, or of any that should call

“ himself King; but such a One as is allowed, and  
 “ received by the Parliament in the behalf of the King.  
 “ dom: And was not his Majesty so allowed; How-  
 “ ever, through a dark Mist of Words, and urging  
 “ their old Privileges (which, he hoped, he had  
 “ sufficiently Answered, and will be every day more  
 “ confuted by the Actions of his good Subjects) they  
 “ conclude, that those that shall guide themselves by  
 “ the judgment of Parliament, which they say is their  
 “ own, ought, whatsoever happen, to be secure, and  
 “ free from all Account and Penalties, upon the  
 “ ground and Equity of that very Statute: How far  
 “ their own Chancellors may help them in that  
 “ Equity, his Majesty knew not; but by the help of  
 “ God and that good Law, He would allow no such  
 “ Equity: So then, there is the Doctrine of that  
 “ Declaration; and these are the Propositions of the  
 “ Contrivers of it.”

1. That they have an absolute Power of declaring  
 the Law; and that whatsoever they declare to be so,  
 ought not to be questioned by his Majesty, or any  
 Subject: So that all right and safety of Him and his  
 People, must depend upon Their pleasure.

2. That no Precedents can be limits to bound their  
 Proceedings: So they may do what they please.

3. That the Parliament may dispose of any thing,  
 wherein the King or Subject hath a Right, for the  
 Public Good; that they, without the King, are this  
 Parliament, and judge of this Public Good; and that  
 his Majesty's consent is not necessary: So the Life  
 and Liberty of the Subject, and all the good Laws  
 made for the security of them, may be disposed of



**B O O K** and repealed by the Major part of both Houses at any  
**V.** time present. and by any ways and means procured so to be; and his Majesty had no power to protect them.

4. That no Member of either House ought to be troubled or meddled with for Treason, Felony, or any other Crime, without the Cause first brought before Them, that they may judge of the Fact, and Their Leave obtained to proceed.

5 That the Sovereign Power resides in both Houses of Parliament; and that his Majesty had no Negative Voice: So then his Majesty Himself must be subject to their Commands.

6. That the levying of Forces against the Personal Commands of the King, though accompanied with his Presence, is not levying War against the King; but the levying War against his Laws and Authority (which They have power to declare, and signify) though not against his Person, is levying War against the King: And that Treason cannot be committed against his Person, otherwise than as he is intrusted with the Kingdom, and discharging that Trust; and that They have a power to judge, whether he discharges that Trust or no.

7. That if they should make the highest Precedents of other Parliaments their Patterns, there would be no cause to complain of want of Modesty or Duty in them; that is, they may Depose his Majesty when they will, and are not to be blamed for so doing.

“ And now (as if the mere publishing of their resolutions. would not only prevail with the People,  
 “ but, in the instant, destroy all Spirit, and Courage  
 “ in his Majesty to preserve his own right, and honor)

“ they had since taken the boldness to assault him  
“ with certain Propositions: which they call the most  
“ necessary effectual means for the removing those  
“ Jealousies, and Differences between his Majesty  
“ and his People; that is, that he would be content  
“ to divest himself of all his Regal rights, and digni-  
“ ties; be content with the Title of a King, and suffer  
“ Them, according to their discretion to govern  
“ Him, and the Kingdom, and to dispose of his  
“ Children. How suitable and agreeable this Doctrine,  
“ and these Demands were to the affection of his  
“ loving Subjects, under whose Trust these Men  
“ pretend to Say, and Do these monstrous things;  
“ and to design not only the ruin of his Person, but of  
“ Monarchy itself (which, he might justly say, was  
“ more than ever was offered in any of his Prede-  
“ cessors times; for though the Person of the King  
“ hath been sometimes unjustly Deposed, yet the  
“ Regal Power was never, before this time, struck at)  
“ he believes his good Subjects would find some way  
“ to let Them, and the World know: And, from  
“ this time, such who had been misled, by Their ill  
“ Counsels, to have any hand in the execution of the  
“ Militia, would see to what Ends their service was  
“ designed; and therefore if they should presume  
“ hereafter to meddle in it, they must expect, that  
“ he would immediately proceed against them as  
“ actual raisers of Sedition, and as Enemies to his  
“ Sovereign Power.

“ His Majesty said, he had done, And should now  
“ expect the worst Actions these Men had power to  
“ commit against him; worse Words they could not

B O O K “ give him: And he doubted not, but the Major  
 V. “ part of both Houses of Parliament, when they  
 “ might come together with their honor and safety  
 “ ( as well those who were surpris'd at the passing of  
 “ it, and understood not the malice in it, and the  
 “ confusion that must grow by it, if believed; as those  
 “ who were absent, or involved) would so far resent  
 “ the indignity offer'd to his Majesty, the dishonor  
 “ to Themselves, and the mischief to the whole  
 “ Kingdom, by that Declaration; that they would  
 “ speedily make the foul Contrivers of it Instances  
 “ of their exemplary Justice; and brand Them, and  
 “ their Doctrine, with the marks of their perpetual  
 “ Scorn and Indignation.”

Whilst this Answer, and Declaration of his Majesty's was preparing and publishing, which was done with all imaginable haste, and to which they made no Reply till many Months after the War was begun, they proceeded in all their Counsels towards the lessening his Majesty both in Reputation, and towards the improving their own Interests. For the first, upon the advantage of their former Vote, of the King's Intention to levy War against his Parliament, in the end of *May* they published Orders, “ That the Sheriffs of  
 “ the adjacent Counties should hinder, and make stay  
 “ of all Arms and Ammunition carrying towards  
 “ *York*, until they had given notice thereof unto the  
 “ Lords and Commons; and should have received  
 “ Their further Direction; and that they should  
 “ prevent the coming together of any Soldiers, Horse  
 “ or Foot, by any Warrant of his Majesty, without  
 “ Their Advice or Consent: Which they did, not

upon any opinion that there would be any Arms or Ammunition carrying to his Majesty. they having entirely possessed themselves of all his Stores ; or that they indeed believed , there was any Commission or Warrant to raise Soldiers, which they well knew there was not ; but that, by this means , their Agents in the Country ( which many Sheriffs and Justices of Peace were ; and most Constables, and Inferior Officers) might , upon this Pretence , hinder the resorting to his Majesty , which they did with that Industry , that few Persons, who foreseeing the design , of those Orders, did not decline the great Roads, and made not pretences of travelling to some other place, and travelled in any Equipage towards his Majesty, escaped without being stayed by such watches: And most that were so stayed, finding it to no purpose to attend the Restoration , or Justice of the Houses , who always commended the vigilance of their Ministers, and did not expect, they should be bound up by the Letter of their Orders , made shift to escape with their own Persons, and were contented to leave their Horses behind them ; They who attended to be repaired by the Justice of the Houses, finding so many delays, and those delays to be so chargeable , and themselves exposed to so many Questions, and such an Inquisition , that they thought their Liberty a great prize, whatever they left behind them.

For the improving their Interest, and Dependance, though they had as much of the Affection of the City as could reasonably be expected; and by their exercise of the Militia, had united them in a firm Bond , the communication of Guilt ; yet they well understood



BOOK their true strength consisted in the Rabble of the  
V. People, for the greatest part of the substantial, and  
wealthy Citizens, being not of their Party, and except  
some Expedient were found out, whereby they  
might be involved, and concerned in their Prosperity  
or Ruin, they thought themselves not so much in  
truth possessed of that City, as they seemed to be.  
They had heard it said, that *Edward* the fourth of  
*England* recovered the City of *London*, and by that  
the Kingdom, by the vast Debts that he owed there;  
Men looking upon the helping of Him to the Crown,  
as the helping Themselves to their Money, which  
was else desperate. Upon this ground, they had taken  
the first opportunity of Borrowing great Sums of  
them, in the beginning of this Parliament; when the  
richest and best affected Men, upon a presumption  
that hereby the Scots Army would suddenly March  
into their own Country, and the English as soon be  
Disbanded, cheerfully furnished that Money. Upon  
this ground, they still forbore to repay those Sums,  
disposing what was brought in upon the Bills of  
Subsidy, and other public Bills, to other purposes.  
And now, to make themselves more sure of them,  
they Borrowed another Sum of 100,000*l.* of them,  
upon pretence of the great Exigences of *Ireland*;  
which was their two-edged Sword, to lead them into  
the Liberty of laying what Imputations, they thought  
most convenient for their purposes, upon the King  
and Queen; and to draw what Money they  
thought fit from the City; and served them now  
to another important end, to raise Soldiers; but  
that Service itself, in order to suppressing the Re-  
bellion there, was not, in any degree, advanced.

Having, by these means, thus provided for their main Ends, they made the People believe, they were preparing Propositions to send to the King; and the People were yet so Innocent as to believe, that they would never send Propositions that were not reasonable: For though the unusual Acts which had been done by the King, as the going to the House of Commons, and demanding the Members there, had put them into as unusual apprehensions; and those, by the warmth and heat of Declarations and Answers, had drawn from them, by degrees, another kind of Language, than had before been used; yet most Men believed, when those Passions were digested, and that any Propositions should be made by them (which the King had long called for and invited) that they could not but be such, as would open a door for that Affection, Confidence, Duty, and Trust, upon which the Peace of the Kingdom might be reasonably founded. And Propositions they did send to the King, in the beginning of June; which were presented to his Majesty, with great Solemnity, by their Committee resident there; which, in this place, are very necessary to be inserted in the very terms in which they were presented, as followeth:

*The humble Petition, and Advice of both Houses of Parliament, with Nineteen Propositions and the Conclusion, sent unto his Majesty the second of June 1642.*

The Nineteen Propositions sent to the King by both Houses June 2. 1642.

“ Your Majesty’s most humble and faithful Subjects,  
 “ the Lords and Commons in Parliament, having  
 “ nothing in their thoughts and desires, more

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“ precious and of higher esteem, next to the  
 “ Honor and immediate Service of God, than the  
 “ just and faithful performance of their Duty to  
 “ your Majesty, and this Kingdom: And being  
 “ very sensible of the great distractions and dis-  
 “ tempers, and of the Imminent dangers and  
 “ calamities, which those distractions and distem-  
 “ pers are like to bring upon your Majesty, and  
 “ your Subjects (all which have proceeded from  
 “ the subtle Informations, mischievous Practices,  
 “ and evil Counsels of Men disaffected to God’s  
 “ true Religion; your Majesty’s Honor and  
 “ Safety; and the public Peace, and Prosperity  
 “ of your People) after a serious Observation of  
 “ the Causes of those mischiefs, do, in all humi-  
 “ lity and sincerity, present to your Majesty their  
 “ most dutiful Petition and Advice: That, out of  
 “ your Princely Wisdom for the establishing your  
 “ own Honor and Safety, and gracious tenderness  
 “ of the Welfare and Security of your Subjects  
 “ and Dominions, you will be pleased to grant,  
 “ and accept these their humble Desires and Pro-  
 “ positions, as the most necessary and effectual  
 “ means, through God’s blessing, of removing  
 “ those Jealousies and Differences, which have  
 “ unhappily fallen out betwixt you and your  
 “ People, and procuring both your Majesty and  
 “ Them, a constant course of Honor, Peace, and  
 “ Happiness.”

*The Propositions.*

1. “ That the Lords and others of your Majesty’s  
 “ Privy - Council, and such great Officers and

“ Ministers of State, either at Home or beyond  
 “ the Seas, may be put from your Privy-Council,  
 “ and from those Offices and Employments, ex-  
 “ cepting such as shall be approved by both Hou-  
 “ ses of Parliament: And that the Persons, put  
 “ into the Places and Employments of those that  
 “ are removed, may be approved of by both  
 “ Houses of Parliament: and that Privy-Counsel-  
 “ lers shall take an Oath, for the due execution of  
 “ their Places, in such Form as shall be agreed  
 “ upon by both Houses of Parliament.

2. “ That the great Affairs of the Kingdom may not  
 “ be concluded, or transacted by the Advice of  
 “ private Men, or by any unknown, or unsworn  
 “ Counsellors; but that such matters as concern  
 “ the Public, and are proper for the High Court  
 “ of Parliament, which is your Majesty’s great  
 “ and supreme Council, may be debated, resolved,  
 “ and transacted only in Parliament, and not else-  
 “ where: And such as shall presume to do any  
 “ thing to the contrary, shall be reserved to the  
 “ Censure and Judgment of Parliament: And such  
 “ other Matters of State, as are proper for your  
 “ Majesty’s Privy-Council, shall be debated and  
 “ concluded by such of the Nobility, and Others,  
 “ as shall, from time to time, be chosen for that  
 “ Place, by approbation of both Houses of Par-  
 “ liament: And that no public Act concerning the  
 “ Affairs of the Kingdom, which are proper for  
 “ your Privy-Council, may be esteemed of any  
 “ Validity, as proceeding from the Royal Autho-  
 “ rity, unless it be done by the Advice and Consent

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## BOOK

## V.

- “ of the Major part of the Council, attested  
 “ under their Hands: And that your Council may  
 “ be limited to a certain Number, not exceeding  
 “ twenty-five, nor under fifteen; and if any  
 “ Counsellor's place happen to be Void in the  
 “ interval of Parliament, it shall not be supplied  
 “ without the Assent of the Major part of the  
 “ Council; which choice shall be confirmed at  
 “ the next Sitting of Parliament, or else to be void.
2. “ That the Lord High Steward of *England*, Lord  
 “ High Constable, Lord Chancellor, or Lord  
 “ Keeper of the Great Seal, Lord Treasurer, Lord  
 “ Privy Seal, Earl Marshal, Lord Admiral,  
 “ Warden of the Cinque Ports, chief Governor  
 “ of *Ireland*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mas-  
 “ ter of the Wards, Secretaries of state, two  
 “ Chief Justices, and Chief Baron, may always  
 “ be chosen with the approbation of both Houses  
 “ of Parliament; and in the intervals of Parlia-  
 “ ment, by the Assent of the Major part of the  
 “ Council, in such manner as is before expressed  
 “ in the choice of Counsellors.
4. “ That He, or They, unto whom the Govern-  
 “ ment and Education of the King's Children  
 “ shall be committed, shall be approved of by  
 “ both Houses of Parliament; and, in the inter-  
 “ vals of Parliament, by the Assent of the Major  
 “ part of the Council, in such manner as is before  
 “ expressed in the choice of Counsellors; And  
 “ that all such Servants as are now about them,  
 “ against whom both Houses shall have any just  
 “ Exceptions, shall be removed.

5. That

5. " That no Marriage shall be concluded, or  
 " treated, for any of the King's Children, with  
 " any Foreign Prince, or other Person what-  
 " soever, Abroad or at Home, without the Con-  
 " sent of Parliament, under the Penalty of a Præ-  
 " munire, unto such as shall conclude, or treat  
 " of any Marriage as aforesaid: And that the said  
 " Penalty shall not be pardoned, or dispensed  
 " with, but by the Consent of both Houses of  
 " Parliament.
6. " That the Laws in force against Jesuits, Priests,  
 " and Popish Recusants, be strictly put in Execu-  
 " tion without any Toleration, or Dispensation  
 " to the contrary: And that some more effectual  
 " course may be enacted, by Authority of Par-  
 " liament, to disable them from making any dis-  
 " turbance in the State; or eluding the Laws by  
 " Trusts, or otherwise.
7. " That the Votes of Popish Lords in the House of  
 " Peers may be taken away, so long as they con-  
 " tinue Papists: And that your Majesty will  
 " consent to such a Bill, as shall be drawn, for  
 " the Education of the Children of Papists, by  
 " Protestants, in the Protestant Religion.
8. " That your Majesty will be pleased to consent,  
 " that such a Reformation be made of the Church-  
 " Government, and Liturgy, as both Houses  
 " of Parliament shall advise; wherein they intend  
 " to have consultations with Divines, as is ex-  
 " pressed in their Declaration to that purpose:  
 " And that your Majesty will contribute your  
 " best assistance to them, for the raising of a suffi-
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- “ sufficient maintenance for Preaching Ministers  
 “ through the Kingdom : And that your Majesty  
 “ will be pleased to give your consent to Laws  
 “ for the taking away of Innovations, and  
 “ Superstition, and of Pluralities, and against  
 “ scandalous Ministers.
9. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to rest satisfi-  
 “ fied with that course, that the Lords and Com-  
 “ mons have appointed, for ordering of the  
 “ Militia, until the same shall be further settled  
 “ by a Bill : And that your Majesty will recal-  
 “ your Declarations, and Proclamations against  
 “ the Ordinance made by the Lords and Com-  
 “ mons concerning it.
10. “ That such Members of either House of Parlia-  
 “ ment, as have, during this present Parliament,  
 “ been put out of any Place and Office, may  
 “ either be restored to that Place and Office, or  
 “ otherwise have satisfaction for the same, upon  
 “ the Petition of that House, whereof He, or  
 “ They are Members.
11. “ That all Privy-Counsellors and Judges may  
 “ take an Oath, the Form whereof to be agreed  
 “ on and settled by Act of Parliament, for the  
 “ maintaining of the Petition of Right, and of  
 “ certain Statutes made by this Parliament, which  
 “ shall be mentioned by both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment : and that an inquiry of all Breaches, and  
 “ Violations of those Laws, may be given in  
 “ charge by the Justices of the King’s Bench  
 “ every Term, and by the Judges of Assize in  
 “ their Circuits, and Justices of the Peace at the

- “ Sessions, to be presented and punished accord-  
 “ ing to Law.
12. “ That all the Judges, and all the Officers,  
 “ placed by approbation of both Houses of Parlia-  
 “ ment may hold their places *quandiu bene se*  
 “ *gesserint*.
13. “ That the Justice of Parliament may pass upon  
 “ all Delinquents, whether they be within the  
 “ Kingdom, or fled out of it: And that all Persons  
 “ cited by either House of Parliament, may ap-  
 “ pear; and abide the Censure of Parliament.
14. “ That the General Pardon, offered by your  
 “ Majesty, may be granted with such Exceptions,  
 “ as shall be advised by both Houses of Parliament.
15. “ That the Forts, and Castles of this Kingdom,  
 “ may be put under the Command and Custody of  
 “ such Persons, as your Majesty shall appoint with  
 “ the approbation of your Parliament; and in the  
 “ intervals of Parliament, with approbation of the  
 “ Major part of the Council, in such manner as is  
 “ before expressed in the choice of Counsellors.
16. “ That the extraordinary Guards, and Military  
 “ Forces now attending your Majesty, may be  
 “ removed and discharged; and that, for the future,  
 “ you will raise no such Guards or extraordinary  
 “ Forces, but, according to the Law, in case of  
 “ Actual Rebellion, or Invasion.
17. “ That your Majesty will be pleased to enter into  
 “ a more strict Alliance with the States of the *United*  
 “ *Provinces*, and other neighbour Princes and  
 “ States of the Protestant Religion. for the defence  
 “ and maintenance thereof against all Designs and



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- “ Attempts of the Pope, and his Adherents, to  
 “ subvert and suppress it; whereby your Majesty  
 “ will obtain great access of strength and reputa-  
 “ tion, and your Subjects be much encouraged  
 “ and enabled, in a Parliamentary way, for your  
 “ Aid, and Assistance, in restoring your Royal  
 “ Sister, and her Princely Issue to those Dignities  
 “ and Dominions, which belong unto them; and  
 “ relieving the other distressed Protestant Princes,  
 “ who have suffered in the same Cause.
18. “ That your Majesty will be pleased by Act of  
 “ Parliament, to clear the Lord *Kimbolton*, and the  
 “ five Members of the House of Commons, in such  
 “ manner that future Parliaments may be secured  
 “ from the Consequence of that evil Precedent.
19. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased  
 “ to pass a Bill for restraining Peers made hereafter,  
 “ from Sitting or Voting in Parliament, unless  
 “ they be admitted thereunto with the Consent  
 “ of both Houses of Parliament.
- “ And these our humble Desires being granted by  
 “ your Majesty, We shall forthwith apply our-  
 “ selves to regulate your present Revenue, in such  
 “ sort as may be for your best advantage; and  
 “ likewise to settle such an ordinary, and constant  
 “ increase of it, as shall be sufficient to support  
 “ your Royal Dignity in Honor, and Plenty,  
 “ beyond the proportion of any former Grants of  
 “ the Subjects of this Kingdom to your Majesty’s  
 “ Royal Predecessors: We shall likewise put the  
 “ Town of *Hull* into such hands, as your Majesty  
 “ shall appoint with the consent and approbation

“ of Parliament ; and deliver up a just Account  
 “ of all the Magazine ; and chearfully employ the  
 “ uttermost of Our power and endeavours , in the  
 “ real expreffion , and performance of our moft  
 “ Dutiful and Loyal Affections , to the preferving  
 “ and maintaining the Royal Honor , Greatnefs ,  
 “ and Safety of your Majesty , and your Posterity .”

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The fame day that thefe Articles of Depofition were paffed the Houfes , that his Majesty might fee how unable he was like to be to contend with them , they declared by an Order , the fame day printed and carefully difperfed , “ that they had received Infor-  
 “ mation ” (and indeed their Informations were wonderful particular , from all parts beyond Sea , of whatfoever was agitated on the King’s behalf ; as well as from his Court , of whatfoever was defigned , or almoft but thought of to himfelf : Befides they could pretend to receive Information of whatfoever would any way conduce to their purpofe , true or falfe) “ that the Jewels of the Crown (which , they  
 “ faid , by the Law of the Land ought not to be  
 “ aliened) were either pawned or fold in *Amfterdam* ,  
 “ or fome other parts beyond Seas ; and thereby  
 “ great Sums of Money provided to be returned to  
 “ *York* , or to fome of his Majesty’s Servants or  
 “ Agents , for his Majesty’s ufe : And becaufe , they  
 “ faid , it was more than probable that great pro-  
 “ vifion of Moneys , in fuch an extraordinary way ,  
 “ was to maintain the intended War againft the  
 “ Parliament ; and thereby to bring the whole King-  
 “ dom into utter ruin , and combuftion : It was  
 “ therefore declared , by the Lords and Commons in

Order of the  
two Houfes

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against  
pawning the  
Jewels of the  
Crown.

" Parliament, that whosoever had been, or should  
" be, an Actor in the selling or pawning of any  
" Jewels of the Crown: or had, or should pay, lend,  
" send, or bring any Money in Specie into this  
" Kingdom for, or upon, any of those Jewels; or  
" whosoever had, or should accept of any Bill from  
" beyond the Seas for the payment of any Sum of  
" Money, for or upon any of those Jewels, and  
" should pay any Sum according to such Bill, after  
" notice of that Order, without acquainting that  
" House with the Receipt of that Bill, before he  
" accept the same; or if he had already accepted any  
" such Bill, then with the Acceptance thereof,  
" before the payment of the Money, every such  
" Person should be held and accounted a Promoter  
" of that intended War, an Enemy to the State, and  
" ought to give Satisfaction for the public damage  
" out of his own Estate.

Upon this confident Assumption, " that it was  
" not in the King's power to dispose the Jewels of  
" the Crown: that whosoever Jewels were offered  
" to be pawned or sold, by any of the King's Mi-  
" nisters beyond the Seas, were the Jewels of the  
" Crown, and no other; and that all Money, re-  
" turned from thence for his Majesty's Service, was  
" Money so raised and procured; " they so much  
terrified Men of all Conditions, that the Queen,  
having, by the Sale of some of her own Jewels, and  
by her other Dexterity, procured some Money for  
the King's supply, could not in a long time find any  
means to transmit it. However, this made no im-  
pression upon the King's Resolution; and though it

might have some influence upon Merchantly Men, B O O K  
yet it stirred up most Generous minds to an Indigna- V.  
tion to the King's behalf; and was new Evidence,  
if there had wanted any, what kind of Greatness he  
was to expect from complying with such immodest,  
and extravagant Proposers.

The King was once Resolved to have returned no Answer to them upon those Propositions; but to let the People alone to judge of the unreasonableness of them, and of the Indignity offered to him in the delivery of them; and that was the reason of the short mention he made of them, in the close of his Declaration to theirs of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May: But he was afterwards persuaded to vouchsafe a further notice of them, there being some particulars Popular enough, and others, that, at the first View, seemed not altogether so derogatory to him, and so inconvenient to the People, as in truth they were; and that therefore it was necessary to let the People know, that whatsoever was reasonable, and might be beneficial to the Kingdom, had been, for the most part, before offered by his Majesty; and should all be readily granted by him; and so to unfold the rest to them, that they might discern their own Welfare, and Security, to be as much endangered by those Demands, as the King's Rights, Honor, and Dignity: So that, in a short time after he received them, he sent to the two Houses, and published to the Kingdom, his Answer to those Nineteen Propositions, whereof it will be sufficient to repeat some few Particulars:

“ In which he first remembered them of their TheSubstance



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of his Majesty's  
Answer to  
the Nineteen  
Propositions.

“ method, they had observed in their Proceedings  
“ towards him: That they had first totally sup-  
“ pressed the known Laws of the Land, and denied  
“ His power to be necessary to the making New.  
“ reducing the whole to their own Declarations,  
“ and single Votes: That they had possessed them-  
“ selves of his Magazines, Forts, and Militia: That  
“ they had fowed his Subjects with Pursuivants,  
“ long chargeable Attendance; heavy Censures;  
“ illegal Imprisonments; that few of them durst offer  
“ to present their tenderness of his Majesty's Suffer-  
“ ings, their own just Grievances, and their sense  
“ of those Violations of the Law (the Birth right of  
“ every Subject of the Kingdom) though in an  
“ humble Petition to both Houses; and if any did,  
“ it was stifled in the Birth; called Sedition; and  
“ burned by the Common Hangman: That they had  
“ restrained the attendance of his Ordinary, and  
“ Necessary Household Servants: and seized upon  
“ those small Sums of Money, which his Credit had  
“ provided to buy him Bread; with Injunctions that  
“ no Money should be suffered to be conveyed, or  
“ returned to his Majesty to *York*, or to any of his  
“ Peers, or Servants with him; so that, in effect  
“ they had blocked him up in that County: That  
“ they had filled the Ears of his People with Fears  
“ and Jealousies (though taken up upon trust) Tales  
“ of Skippers, Salt Fleets, and such like; by which  
“ Alarms they might prepare them to receive such  
“ Impressions, as might best advance their Design,  
“ when it should be ripe. And now, it seemed, they  
“ thought his Majesty sufficiently prepared for those

“ Bitter Pills; that he was in a handsome posture to receive those humble Desires; which, probably, were intended to make way for a Superlætation of a yet higher Nature; for they did not tell him: This was All. He said, he must observe, that those Contrivers (the better to advance their true ends) in those Propositions, disguised, as much as they could, their Intents with a mixture of some things really to be approved by every honest Man; others, Specious and Popular; and some which were already granted by his Majesty: All which were cunningly twisted, and mixed with those other things of their main Design, of Ambition and private Interest, in hope that, at the first View, every Eye might not so clearly discern them in their proper Colors.

“ His Majesty said, if the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. 9, 10. 15, 16 19, Demands had been Writ, and Printed, in a Tongue unknown to his Majesty and his People, it might have been possible, that He, and They might have charitably believed the Propositions to be such, as might have been in order to the Ends pretended in the Petition; to wit, the Establishment of his Honor and Safety; the Welfare and Security of his Subjects and Dominions, and the removing those Jealousies and Differences, which were said to have unhappily fallen betwixt his Majesty and his People; and procuring both his Majesty, and Them, a constant course of Honor, Peace, and Happiness; but being read and understood by all, he could not but assure Himself, that that Profession, joined to those

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BOOK V. Propositions, would rather appear a Mockery,  
 and a Scorn; the Demands being such, that he  
 were unworthy the Trust reposed in him by the  
 Law, and of his Descent from so many Great and  
 Famous Ancestors, if he could be brought to  
 abandon that Power, which alone could enable  
 him to perform what he was Sworn to, in protect-  
 ing his People, and the Law; and so assume  
 others into it, as to divest Himself of it, although  
 not only his present Condition were more Ne-  
 cessitous than it was (which it could hardly be) and  
 he were both Vanquished, and a Prisoner, and in  
 a worse Condition than ever the most unfortunate  
 of his Predecessors had been reduced to, by the  
 most Criminal of their Subjects; and though the  
 Bait laid to draw him to it, and to keep his Sub-  
 jects from Indignation at the mention of it, the  
 Promises of a plentiful and unparalleled Revenue,  
 were reduced from Generals (which signify no-  
 thing) to clear and certain Particulars; since such  
 a bargain would have but too great a resemblance  
 of that of *Esau's*, if he would part with such flow-  
 ers of his Crown, as were worth all the rest of  
 the Garland, and had been transmitted to him  
 from so many Ancestors, and had been found so  
 useful and necessary for the Welfare and Security  
 of his Subjects, for any present Necessity, or for  
 any low and sordid Considerations of Wealth and  
 Gain. And therefore, all Men knowing that  
 those Accommodations are most easily made, and  
 most exactly observed, that are grounded upon  
 reasonable and equal conditions, his Majesty had

“ great cause to believe that the Contrivers of those  
 “ Propositions, had no Intention of settling any  
 “ firm Accommodation, but to increase those Jeas-  
 “ lousies, and widen that Division, which, not by  
 “ his Majesty’s fault, was now unhappily fallen be-  
 “ tween Him and both Houses. B O O K V.

“ It was asked, that all the Lords and others of  
 “ his Privy-Council, and such great Officers and  
 “ Ministers of State, either at home or beyond the  
 “ Seas (for, he said, care was taken to leave out  
 “ no Person, or Place, that his dishonor might  
 “ be sure not to be bounded within this Kingdom)  
 “ should be put from his Privy-Council, and from  
 “ those Offices and Employments, unless they should  
 “ be approved by both Houses of Parliament, how  
 “ faithful soever his Majesty had found them to  
 “ Him and to the Public; and how far soever  
 “ they had been from offending against any Law,  
 “ the only Rule they had, or any Others ought to  
 “ have, to walk by His Majesty therefore to that  
 “ part of that Demand returned this Answer, That  
 “ he was willing to grant, that they should take a  
 “ larger Oath, than they Themselves desired in  
 “ their eleventh Demand, for maintaining not of  
 “ any Part, but the Whole Law. And, he said,  
 “ he had, and did assure them, that he would be  
 “ careful to make Election of such Persons in those  
 “ Places of Trust, as had given good Testimonies  
 “ of their Abilities and Integritys, and against whom  
 “ there could be no just cause of Exception, where-  
 “ on reasonably to ground a Dissidence: That if he  
 “ had, or should be mistaken in his Election, he



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“ had, and did assure them, that there was no Man  
“ so near to him, in Place or Affection, whom he  
“ would not leave to the Justice of the Law, if  
“ they should bring a particular Charge, and suffi-  
“ cient Proof against him: That he had given them  
“ a Triennial Parliament (the best pledge of the  
“ Effects of such a Promise on His part, and the best  
“ Security for the performance of their Duty on  
“ Theirs) the apprehension of whose Justice, would  
“ in all probability, make Them wary how they  
“ provoked it; and his Majesty wary, how he chose  
“ such as, by the discovery of their faults, might  
“ in any degree seem to discredit his Election; but  
“ that without any shadow of a fault objected, only  
“ perhaps because they follow their Consciences,  
“ and preserve the established Laws, and agree not  
“ in such Votes, or assent not to such Bills, as some  
“ Persons, who had then too great an influence  
“ even upon both Houses, judged, or seemed to  
“ judge, to be for the public good, and as were  
“ agreeable to that new Utopia of Religion and  
“ Government, into which they endeavoured to  
“ transform this Kingdom (for, he said, he remem-  
“ bered what Names, and for what Reasons, they  
“ left out in the Bill offered him concerning the  
“ Militia, which they had themselves recommended  
“ in the Ordinance) he would never consent to the  
“ displacing of any, whom for their former Merits  
“ from, and Affection to his Majesty and the  
“ Public, he had intrusted; since, he conceived,  
“ that to do so, would take away both from the  
“ Affection of his Servants, and care of his Service,

“ and the Honor of his Justice: And, he said, he  
 “ the more wondered, that it should be asked by  
 “ them, since it appears by the twelfth Demand,  
 “ that Themselves counted it reasonable, after the  
 “ present Turn was served, that the Judges and  
 “ Officers, who were then placed, might hold  
 “ their Places, *quandiu se bene gesserint*: And he  
 “ was Resolved to be as careful of those whom He  
 “ had chosen; as they were of those They would  
 “ chuse; and to remove none, till they appeared  
 “ to him to have otherwise behaved themselves,  
 “ or should be evicted, by Legal Proceedings, to  
 “ have done so.

“ But, his Majesty said, that Demand, as un-  
 “ reasonable as it was, was but one Link of a great  
 “ Chain, and but the first Round of that Ladder, by  
 “ which his Majesty’s Just, Ancient, Regal Power,  
 “ was endeavoured to be fetched down to the  
 “ ground; for it appeared plainly that it was not  
 “ with the Persons now chosen, but with his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Chusing, that they were displeased: For  
 “ they demanded, that the Persons put into the  
 “ Places and Employments of those, who should  
 “ be removed, might be approved by both Houses;  
 “ which was so far from being less than the power  
 “ so Nomination, that of two things, of which he  
 “ would never grant either, he would sooner be  
 “ content, that They should Nominate, and He  
 “ Approve; than They Approve and his Majesty  
 “ Nominate; the mere Nomination being so far  
 “ from being any thing, that if he could do no More,  
 “ he would never take the pains to do That; when

BOOK V. “ he should only hazard whom he esteemed to the  
“ Scorn of a Refusal, if they happened not to be  
“ agreeable not only to the Judgment, but to the  
“ Passion, Interest, or Humor of the present Major  
“ part of either House: Not to speak of the great  
“ Factions, Animosities, and Divisions, which  
“ that Power would introduce in both Houses, and  
“ in the several Counties for the choice of Persons  
“ to be sent to that place, where that Power was;  
“ and between the Persons that were so chosen.  
“ Neither was that strange Potion prescribed to him  
“ only for once, for the Cure of a present, pressing,  
“ desperate Disease; but for a Diet to Him, and his  
“ Posterity. It was demanded, that his Counsel-  
“ lers, all Chief Officers both of Law and State,  
“ Commanders of Forts and Castles, and all Peers  
“ hereafter made, be Approved of, that is Chosen,  
“ by Them from time to time: And rather than it  
“ should ever be left to the Crown (to whom it  
“ only did, and should belong) if any place fall void  
“ in the intermission of Parliament, the Major part  
“ of the approved Council was to approve them.  
“ Neither was it only demanded that his Majesty  
“ should quit the Power, and Right, his Predecess-  
“ fors had had of appointing Persons in those Places;  
“ but for Counsellors, he was to be restrained, as  
“ well in the Number as in the Persons; and a  
“ power must be annexed to those Places, which  
“ their Predecessors had not. And indeed, if that  
“ power were passed to them, he said, it would  
“ not be fit He should be trusted to chuse those who  
“ were to be trusted as much as Himself.

“ He told them, to grant their Demands in the  
 “ manner they proposed them, that all matters  
 “ that concerned the Public, &c. should be resolved,  
 “ and transacted only in Parliament, and such other  
 “ matters of State, &c. by the Privy-Council so  
 “ chosen, was in effect at once to depose Himself,  
 “ and his Posterity. He said, many expressions in  
 “ their Demands, had a greater Latitude of signifi-  
 “ cation, than they seemed to have; and that it  
 “ concerned his Majesty therefore the more, that  
 “ they should speak out; that both He, and his  
 “ People, might either know the bottom of their  
 “ Demands, or know them to be bottomless. No-  
 “ thing more concerned the Public, and was indeed  
 “ more proper for the high Court of Parliament, than  
 “ the making of Laws; which not only ought there to  
 “ be transacted, but could be transacted nowhere else.  
 “ But then they must admit his Majesty to be a part  
 “ of the Parliament; they must not (as the sense was  
 “ of that part of that Demand, if it had any) deny the  
 “ freedom of his Answer, when He had as much  
 “ right to reject what he thought unreasonable,  
 “ as They had to propose what they thought con-  
 “ venient, or necessary. Nor was it possible his  
 “ Answers, either to Bills or any other Proposi-  
 “ tions, should be wholly free, if he might not  
 “ use the liberty, that every one of Them, and  
 “ every Subject took, to receive Advice (without  
 “ their danger who should give it) from any Person  
 “ known or unknown, sworn or unsworn. in those  
 “ matters in which the manage of his Vote is trusted,  
 “ by the Law, to his own Judgment and Conscience;



B O O K “ which how best to inform was, and ever should  
 v. “ be, left likewise to Him. He said, he would  
 “ always, with due consideration, weigh the Ad-  
 “ vices both of his Great, and Privy-Council, yet  
 “ he should likewise look on their Advices, as  
 “ Advices, not as Commands, or Impositions, upon  
 “ Them, as his Counsellors, not as his Tutors,  
 “ or Guardians; and upon Himself, as their King,  
 “ not as their Pupil, or Ward: For, he said, what-  
 “ soever of Regality was, by the modesty of Inter-  
 “ pretation, left in his Majesty, in the first part of  
 “ the second Demand, as to the Parliament, was  
 “ taken from him, in the second part of the same,  
 “ and placed in that new-fangled kind of Counsellors,  
 “ whose power was such, and so expressed by it,  
 “ that in all Public Acts concerning the Affairs of  
 “ the Kingdom, which are proper for the Privy-  
 “ Council (for whose Advice all Public Acts are  
 “ sometimes proper, though never necessary) they  
 “ were desired to be admitted joint Patences with  
 “ his Majesty in the Regality. And it was not  
 “ plainly expressed, whether they meant his Ma-  
 “ jesty so much as a single Vote in those Affairs;  
 “ but it was plain they meant him no more, at  
 “ most, than a single Vote in them; and no more  
 “ power, than every one of the rest of his fellow  
 “ Counsellors.”

And so after a sharp discourse, and explanation  
 of the unreasonableness of the several Demands, or  
 the greatest part of them, and the confusion that,  
 by consenting thereunto, would redound to the  
 Subject in general, as well as the dishonor to his  
 Majesty

Majesty ( which may be read at large by itself ) He B O O K  
 told them, " to all those unreasonable Demands, V.  
 " his Answer was, *nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari* :  
 " But renewed his Promise to them, for a very  
 " punctual and strict observation of the known Laws  
 " established ; to which purpose he was willing an  
 " Oath should be framed by them, and taken by  
 " all his Privy Counsellors. And for any Alteration  
 " in the Government of the Church, that a National  
 " Synod should be called, to propose what should  
 " be found necessary or convenient : And that for  
 " the advancement of the Protestant Religion against  
 " the Papists, they had not proposed so much to  
 " his Majesty, as he was willing to grant, or as he  
 " had himself offered before. He concluded with  
 " conjuring Them, and all Men, to rest satisfied  
 " with the truth of his Majesty's Professions, and  
 " the reality of his Intentions; and not to ask such  
 " things as denied themselves: That they would  
 " declare against Tumults, and punish the Authors :  
 " That they would allow his Majesty his Property  
 " in his Towns, -Arms, and Goods; and his share  
 " in the Legislative Power; which would be counted  
 " in Him not only breach of Privilege, but Tyranny,  
 " and Subversion of Parliaments, to deny to them :  
 " And, when they should have given him satisfaction  
 " upon those Persons, who had taken away the  
 " One, and recalled those Declarations ( particularly  
 " that of the 26<sup>th</sup> of May; and those in the point of  
 " the Militia, his just rights wherein he would no  
 " more part with, than with his Crown, lest he  
 " enabled others by them to take that from him )

B O O K V. “ which would take away the Other ; and declined  
 “ the beginnings of a War against his Majesty, un-  
 “ der pretence of His intention of making one against  
 “ Them ; as he had never opposed the First part of  
 “ the thirteenth Demand, so he would be ready to  
 “ concur with them in the Latter ; and being then  
 “ confident that the credit of those Men, who desire  
 “ a general combustion, would be so weakened  
 “ with them, that they would not be able to do this  
 “ Kingdom any more hurt, he would be willing to  
 “ grant his General Pardon, with such Exceptions  
 “ as should be thought fit ; and should receive much  
 “ more joy in the hope of a full, and constant hap-  
 “ piness of his People in the true Religion, and  
 “ under the protection of the Law, by a blessed  
 “ union between his Majesty and his Parliament,  
 “ than in any such increase of his own Revenue,  
 “ how much soever beyond former Grants, as ( when  
 “ his Subjects were wealthiest ) his Parliament could  
 “ have settled upon his Majesty. ”

Though the King now lived at *York* in a much more Princely condition, than he could have hoped to have done near *London* ; and had so great a train and resort of the Nobility and Gentry, that there was not left a fifth part of the House of Peers at *Westminster* ; and truly I do not believe, that there was near a Moiety of the House of Commons who continued there ; yet his Majesty made no other use, for the present, of their presence with Him, and of their absence from the two Houses, than to have so many the more, and the more credible Witnesses of his Counsels and Carriage ; and to undeceive the

People by his clear Answers to all the Scandals and Reproaches which were laid on him, and by his ample professions and protestations of his sincere Zeal to Religion, and Justice; and to make it appear to them, how far the Quality and the Number of those who thought, or seemed to think otherwise, was, from what they might imagine it to be. And it cannot be denied. but the People were every day visibly reformed in their understandings, from the superstitious reverence they had paid the two Houses; and grew sensible of their duty to the King, and of those Invasions which were offered to his Regal dignity.

On the other side, the two Houses slackened not their pace a jot, proceeded with great and unusual sharpness against those Members who were gone to the King; Proclaiming some of them by Name "to be Enemies to the Kingdom," and, by a Formal Judgment, sentencing Nine Peers together, "to be incapable of sitting again in Parliament, whilst This should continue:" The House of Commons having carried up an Impeachment of Misdemeanours against them (which was as illegal in point of Justice, and as extravagant in point of Privilege, as any thing they could do) "for being absent, and refusing to attend, upon a Summons from the House of Peers:" And upon their own Members they imposed a fine of 100l a-piece, on every one who was gone to the King, and upon those, who being in other places, they thought were well affected to his Service: Yet, lest they should upon this proceeding return again, to disturb, and cross their



**B O O K** Counsels, they provided, "that no Man upon whom  
**V.** "that Sentence fell, should sit again in the House  
 " ( though he paid his fine ) till he had been examined  
 " by a Committee, and so given the House satisfac-  
 " tion in the cause of his absence." And, by those  
 means, they thought both to remove the Scandal,  
 that so many Members were absent, and to prevent  
 any inconvenience too, that might befall them by  
 their return. For they well knew, if the Members  
 of both Houses were obliged to a constant and strict  
 Attendance, it would not be possible that they could  
 compass their mischievous Designs.

Propositions,  
 and Orders of  
 both Houses  
 for bringing  
 in Money and  
 Plate for  
 maintaining  
 Horse, &c.  
 June 10. 1642.

Then they prosecuted their great Business of the  
 Militia, not only near *London*, where they were in  
 no danger of opposition, but in those Northern  
 Counties near his Majesty, as *Leicestershire, Cheshire,*  
*Lincolnshire*, where whosoever refused to give obe-  
 dience to them, or published the King's Proclama-  
 tion against their proceedings ( for the King had yet  
 practised no Expedient to prevent the growth of  
 that mischief, but the publishing his Proclamation  
 against it ) were sent for as Delinquents; and not  
 satisfied herewith, that they might be as well able  
 to Pay an Army, as they found they should be to  
 Raise one, on the tenth of *June* ( for the time will  
 be very necessary to be remembered, that it may  
 be the better stated, Who took up the Defensive  
 Arms ) they published Propositions, " for the bring-  
 " ing in of Money or Plate to maintain Horse,  
 " Horsemen, and Arms, for the preservation of  
 " the Public Peace, and for the defence of the King  
 " and both Houses of Parliament; the Reasons and

“ Grounds whereof they declared to be the King’s  
 “ Intention to make War against his Parliament,  
 “ That, under pretence of a Guard for his Person,  
 “ he had actually begun to levy Forces, both of  
 “ Horse and Foot ; and sent out Summons through-  
 “ out the County of *York*, for the calling together  
 “ of greater Numbers ; and some ill affected Persons,  
 “ in other parts, had been employed to raise Troops,  
 “ under the color of his Majesty’s Service ; making  
 “ large offers of reward and preferment to such as  
 “ would come in : That his Majesty did, with a  
 “ high and forcible hand, protect, and keep away  
 “ Delinquents, not permitting them to make their  
 “ appearance to Answer such Affronts and Injuries,  
 “ as had been by them offered to the Parliament ;  
 “ and those Messengers, which had been sent from  
 “ the Houses for them, had been abused, beaten,  
 “ and imprisoned, so as the Orders of Parliament,  
 “ the highest Court of Justice in the Realm, were  
 “ not obeyed ; and the Authority of it was altogether  
 “ scorned, and vilified ; and such Persons as stood  
 “ well affected to it, and declared themselves sensible  
 “ of those public Calamities, and of the violations  
 “ of the Privileges of Parliament, and Common-  
 “ Liberty of the Subject, were baffled, and injured  
 “ by several sorts of Malignant Men, who were  
 “ about the King ; some whereof, under the name  
 “ of Cavaliers, without having respect to the Laws  
 “ of the Land, or any fear either of God or Man,  
 “ were ready to commit all manner of Outrage and  
 “ Violence ; which must needs tend to the dissolu-  
 “ tion of the Government ; the destruction of their

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V.

“ Religion, Laws, Liberties, Properties; all which  
“ would be exposed to the Malice and Violence of  
“ such desperate Persons, as must be employed in so  
“ horrid and unnatural an Act, as the overthrowing  
“ a Parliament by Force; which was the support,  
“ and preservation of them. Those Particulars, they  
“ said, being duly considered by the Lords and  
“ Commons, and how great an obligation lay upon  
“ them, in Honor, Conscience, and Duty, according  
“ to the high Trust reposed in them to use all possible  
“ means, in such cases, to prevent so great and  
“ irrecoverable Evils, they had thought fit to publish  
“ their sense, and apprehension of that Imminent  
“ danger; thereby to excite all well affected Persons,  
“ to contribute their best assistance, according to  
“ their solemn Vow and Protestation, to the Prepa-  
“ rations necessary for the opposing, and suppressing  
“ of the Trayterous Attempts of those wicked, and  
“ malignant Counsellors, who sought to engage the  
“ King in so dangerous and destructive an enterprise,  
“ and the whole Kingdom in a Civil War; and de-  
“ stroy the Privileges and Being of Parliaments.

“ This recourse to the good affections of those,  
“ that tender their Religion and just Liberties, and  
“ the enjoyment of the blessed fruits of this present  
“ Parliament, which were almost ready to be reaped,  
“ and were now as ready to be ruined by those  
“ wicked hands, being, they said, the only remedy  
“ left them under God; and without which they  
“ were no longer able to preserve Themselves, or  
“ Those by whom they were intrusted: Therefore,  
“ they declared that whosoever would bring in any

“ proportion of ready Money or Plate, or would  
 “ underwrite to furnish and maintain any number of  
 “ Horse, Horsemen, and Arms, for the preserva-  
 “ tion of the Public Peace, and for the defence of  
 “ the King, and both Houses of Parliament, from  
 “ Force and Violence, and to uphold the Power  
 “ and Privileges of Parliament according to his Pro-  
 “ testation; it should be held a good and acceptable  
 “ Service to the Common-wealth, and a Testimony  
 “ of his good affection to the Protestant Religion,  
 “ the Laws, Liberties, and Peace of the Kingdom;  
 “ and to the Parliament, and Privileges thereof.  
 “ And they further declared, that whosoever brought  
 “ in Money or Plate, or furnished and maintained  
 “ Horse, Horsemen, and Arms, upon these Pro-  
 “ positions, and to those Purposes, should be repaid  
 “ their Money with interest of eight *per Cent*; for  
 “ which they did engage the public Faith, and they  
 “ appointed the Guild-Hall in *London* for the place  
 “ whither this Money, or Plate, should be brought;  
 “ and four Aldermen of *London* to be their Treasu-  
 “ rers for the receiving the same; and likewise other  
 “ Confiding Men to receive, and prize such Horses  
 “ and Arms, as should be brought in for their  
 “ Service. And lastly, for their better encourage-  
 “ ment, the Members of both Houses appointed a  
 “ solemn day to set down their own Subscriptions;  
 “ which they performed liberally.”

Most of those who abhorred their impious Designs,  
 not thinking it lawful for them to be present at such  
 Consultations, withdrew before the day came, or  
 absented themselves Then. But many had the



S O O R courage to be present, and stoutly to refuse what  
v. they thought they could not honestly consent to.  
Sir Henry Killigrew, who was a remarkable Enemy  
to all their devices, being called upon, told them,  
“ if there were occasion, he would provide a good  
“ Horse, and a good Sword; and made no question  
“ but he should find a good Cause.” But, within  
very few days both He, and all those who were  
taken notice of for refusing, found it safest for them  
to leave the Town; there being very visibly great  
animosity against them both within, and without  
the Walls. And a Gentleman of good Quality assured  
me afterwards, that, within few days after he had  
refused to Subscribe, he was privately advised by  
one of the other Faction, who yet retained some  
kindness to him, “ to leave the Town, lest his Brains  
“ were beaten out by the Boys in the Streets.” And  
many of those who too impotently desired not to be  
looked upon as Refractory Persons, and had pleased  
themselves with Subscribing more Articulate-ly for  
the defence of the King’s Person, found it afterwards  
necessary to supply whatsoever they had Subscribed,  
to be employed that way as was Declared to be for  
the defence of the King’s Person, whatsoever their  
Intention was at first, or their Opinion after. And  
it is hardly credible, what a vast proportion of  
Plate was brought in to their Treasurers within ten  
days; there being hardly Men enough to receive  
it, or room to lay it in; and the Throng being  
so great of the Bringers, that, in two days atten-  
dance, many could not be discharged of their Sedi-  
tious Offerings. And, the very next day after these

Propositions, they further ordered, " that there  
" should be a strict search and examination made,  
" by the Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and  
" Constables, near all the Northern Roads, for the  
" seizing all Horses for service in the Wars, or  
" great Saddles, that should be carried towards the  
" North parts of *England*, without the Privity or  
" Direction of one or both Houses of Parliament;" which was a great improvement of their former Order, which extended only to Arms and Ammunition; though, the truth is, the Dexterity and Spirit of their Ministers, who knew their Meaning, made the former almost as inconvenient and dangerous to Passengers, as the latter.

It was by many impatiently wondered at Then, and, no doubt, will be more censured Hereafter, that, notwithstanding all these invasions, and breaches upon the Regal Power, and all these vast Preparations to destroy him, the King, hitherto, put not himself into a posture of safety; or provided for the resistance of that Power, which threatened him; and which, he could not but know, Intended whatsoever it hath since Done; And though they had not yet formed an Army, and chosen a General, yet he well knew, they had Materials abundantly ready for the first, and particular, digested resolutions, in the second; which they could reduce to public acts, whensoever they pleased. It is very true he did know all this, and the unspeakable hazards he run, in not preparing against it. But the hazards, which presented themselves unto him on the other side, were not less Prodigious: He had a very great

B O O K

V.

appearance of the Nobility; and not only of those, who had from the beginning walked, and governed themselves by the Rules the Law prescribed, and, in that respect, were unblamable to King and People: But of Others who had passionately and peevishly (to say no worse) concurred in all the most violent Votes and Actions, which had been done from the beginning: For besides the Lord *Spencer* (who had been chosen their Lieutenant of *Northamptonshire*, but was recovered to a right understanding, of which he was very capable, by his Uncle the Earl of *Southampton*) the Lord *Paget* likewise, who had contributed all his Faculties to Their service, and to the prejudice of the King's, from before the beginning of the Parliament; had been one of their Teizers to broach those bold high Overtures soberer Men were not, at first, willing to be seen in; and had been, as a Man most worthy to be Confided in, chosen Lord Lieutenant of one of the most Confiding Counties, the County of *Buckingham* (where he had, with great Solemnity and Pomp, executed their Ordinance, in defiance of the King's Proclamation) and had Subscribed a greater number of Horfes for their Service, upon their Propositions, than any other of the same Quality; convinced in his conscience, fled from them, and besought the King's Pardon: And, for the better manifesting the tenderness of his Compunction, and the horror he had of his former Guilt, he frankly discovered whatsoever he had known of their Counsels; and aggravated all the ill they had done, with declaring it to be done to worse and more horrid Ends, than many good Men believed to be possible for them to propose to themselves.

Notwithstanding, this glorious Convention was rather an Ornament to his Court, than any great Advantage to his Counsels; and the use of them more to discredit the small remainder at *Westminster*, and that the People might see the number and quality of the Dissenters, than that they contrived any thing to the active improvement of his affairs; every Man thinking it high merit in him, that he absented himself from the Company and Place, where all the mischief was done: and that the keeping himself Negatively innocent, was as much as he owed his King and Country. I am willing to impute it to the drowsy and unactive Genius of the Kingdom (contracted by long ease, and quiet) which so much abhorred the thoughts of a Civil War, that it thought a lively and vigorous preparation against it, was to invite it; and there were very few of all the great Lords, who did attend upon the King, who did not declare, “that the Parliament durst not in truth  
 “ (whatever shows they made in hope to shake his  
 “ Majesty’s constancy) make a War; and if they  
 “ should attempt it, the People would unanimously  
 “ rise for the King, who would be most safe by  
 “ not intending his own safety. Whereas, if he  
 “ raised Forces, the Parliament would procure them-  
 “ selves to be believed, that it was to overthrow  
 “ Religion, and suppress the Laws, and Liberties  
 “ of the People.” They who were of another opinion, and could have spoken more reason, held it not safe to express themselves but in the King’s own Ear; there being in the great Council of the Peers, who, for state, were frequently Assembled, and by



**B O O K** whom in truth the King then desired to have trans-  
**v.** acted all things of Moment, some who were not good Counsel-Keepers, and others who were looked upon, and believed to be Spies upon the rest. But that which made the thought of raising Forces (whatever Arguments there were for it) absolutely unreasonable, was, that the King had no possibility to procure either Arms, or Munition, but from *Holland*; from whence he daily expected supply: And till that arrived, let his Provocations and Sufferings be what they could be, he was to submit and bear it patiently.

In the mean time, for a ground of further proceeding upon occasion, the King desired the Peers in Council, to set down in writing the Affronts, and Violence, which had been offered to them at *London*, by which their Presence in the great Council of the Kingdom was rendered both unsafe, and dishonorable; the which they the more willingly condescended to, for that the *London* Pamphlets already aspersed them, as Deserters of the Parliament, and Betrayers of the Liberty of their Country: An Instrument being drawn up and agreed upon between them, in which they set down “ the Tumults, and  
 “ the Violence offered to particular Persons in those  
 “ Tumults; the Threats and Menaces of the Rabble,  
 “ at the doors of the House, when they had a mind  
 “ any Exorbitant thing should pass; the Breach  
 “ and Violation of the old Orders, and Rules of Parliament, whilst Matters were in debate, and the  
 “ resuming Matters again in a thin House; and reversing, waving, or contradicting Resolutions

“ made in a full House: And, lastly, Mr. *Hollis's*  
 “ coming to the Bar, and demanding the Names of  
 “ those Lords who refused to consent to the Militia,  
 “ when the multitude without menaced and threa-  
 “ tened all those Dissenters:” after which, they said,  
 “ they conceived, they could not be present there,  
 “ with Honor, Freedom, or Safety; and therefore  
 “ forbore to be any more present; and so all those  
 “ Votes, Conclusions, and Declarations had passed,  
 “ which had begot those Distractions throughout  
 “ the Kingdom.” And this they delivered to the  
 King, signed under their Hands. And yet (which  
 is a sufficient Instance how unendued Men were  
 with that Spirit and Courage, which was requisite)  
 the next day after the delivery, many Lords came to  
 his Majesty, and besought him “ that he would by  
 “ no means publish that Paper, but keep it in his  
 “ own hands” some of them saying, “ that, if it  
 “ were published, they would disavow it:” so that  
 material and weighty Evidence, which Then might  
 have been of Sovereign use to the King, was ren-  
 dered utterly ineffectual to his Service; his Majesty  
 finding it necessary to engage his Princely word to  
 them, “ never to make it public without Their con-  
 “ sent;” which he performed most punctually; and  
 so, to this day, it was never divulged.

To make some little amends for this want of mettle  
 (for it proceeded from nothing else, They being  
 most shy in subscribing, and most passionate against  
 publishing, who were of unquestionable Affection  
 to his Majesty, and integrity to his Cause) and that  
 the World might see, there was a Combination

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His Majesty's  
Declaration  
to the Lords  
attending  
him at  
York, June  
13. 1642.

among good Men, to assist his Majesty in the defence of the Law, as well as there was against both by Others: Upon the King's declaring himself fully in Council, where all the Peers were present, "That, " as He would not require or exact any obedience " from them, but what should be warranted by the " known Law of the Land; so he did expect that " They would not yield to any Commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other: That " he would defend every one of them, and all such " as should refuse any such Commands, whether " they proceeded from Votes, and Orders of both " Houses, or any other way, from all dangers and " hazards whatsoever. That his Majesty would defend the true Protestant Religion, established by " the Law of the Land; the Lawful Liberties of " the Subjects of *England*; and just Privileges of all " the Three Estates of Parliament; and would require no further Obedience from them, than as " accordingly he should perform the same: And his " Majesty did further declare that he would not, " as was falsely pretended. engage them, or any of " them, in any War against the Parliament; except " it were for his necessary defence and safety, against " such as did insolently Invade or Attempt against " his Majesty, or such as should adhere to his Majesty:" All the Peers engaged themselves, " not " to obey any Orders, or Commands whatsoever, " not warranted by the known Laws of the Land; " and to defend his Majesty's Person, Crown, and " Dignity, together with his Just and Legal Prerogative, against all Persons and Power whatsoever:

The promise  
of the Lords  
and others  
thereupon.

“ That they would defend the true Protestant Reli- B O O K  
 “ gion, established by the Law of the Land; the v.  
 “ Lawful Liberties of the Subject of *England*; and  
 “ just Privileges of his Majesty, and both his Houses  
 “ of Parliament: And lastly, They engaged them-  
 “ selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance  
 “ whatsoever, concerning any Militia, that had not  
 “ the Royal Assent.”

This being Subscribed by their Lordships, was,  
 with their consent, immediately Printed, and care-  
 fully divulged over the Kingdom, bearing date at  
*York* the thirteenth of *June* 1642. with the Names of  
 the Subscribers. Two days after, his Majesty in  
 Council, taking notice of the Rumors spread, and  
 Informations, given, which might induce many to  
 believe, that his Majesty intended to make War  
 against his Parliament, “ professed before God, and  
 “ said, he declared to all the World, that he always  
 “ had, and did abhor all such Designs, and desired  
 “ all his Nobility and Council, who were there  
 “ upon the place, to declare, whether they had not  
 “ been witnesses of his frequent and earnest Declara-  
 “ tions and Professions to that purpose: Whether  
 “ they saw any Color of Preparations or Counsels,  
 “ that might reasonably beget a belief of any such  
 “ Design; and whether they were not fully persuad-  
 “ ed, that his Majesty had no such Intention: But  
 “ that all his Endeavours, according to his many  
 “ Professions, tended to the firm and constant Settle-  
 “ ment of the true Protestant Religion; the just Pri-  
 “ vileges of Parliament; the Liberty of the Subject;  
 “ the Law, Peace, and Prosperity of this Kingdom:

His Majesty's  
 Declaration  
 and profession  
 of June 15.  
 1642. disavow-  
 ing any Inten-  
 tion of raising  
 War.



**B O O K** Whereupon all the Lords, and Counsellors present,  
**V.** unanimously agreed, and did sign a Paper in these words:

The Declara-  
 tion and pro-  
 fession of the  
 Lords and  
 Counsellors to  
 the same effect.

“ We, whose Names are underwritten, in Obe-  
 dience to his Majesty’s desire, and out of the Duty  
 “ which we owe to his Majesty’s Honor, and to  
 “ Truth, being here upon the place, and Witnesses  
 “ of his Majesty’s frequent, and earnest Declarations  
 “ and Professions of his abhorring all Designs of  
 “ making War upon his Parliament; and not seeing  
 “ any color of Preparations or Counsels, that might  
 “ reasonably beget the belief of any such Designs, do  
 “ profess before God, and testify to all the World,  
 “ that we are fully persuaded that his Majesty hath  
 “ no such intention: But that all his Endeavours  
 “ tend to the firm and constant settlement of the  
 “ true Protestant Religion; the just Privileges of  
 “ Parliament; the Liberty of the Subject; the Law,  
 “ Peace and Prosperity of this Kingdom. Which  
 “ Testimony, and Declaration was Subscribed by

Lord Littleton Lord Keeper.	Duke of Richmond.	Earl of Lindsey.
Marquis of Hertford.	Earl of Cumberland.	Earl of Bath.
Earl of Southampton.	Earl of Salisbury.	Earl of Dorset.
Earl of Devonshire.	Earl of Cambridge.	Earl of Northampton.
Earl of Clare.	Earl of Westmoreland.	Earl of Bristol.
Earl of Monmouth.	Earl of Rivers.	Earl of Berkshire.
Earl of Carnarvon.	Earl of Newport.	Earl of Dover.
Lord Willoughby of Eresby.	Lord Grey of Ruthin.	Lord Mowbray, and Martravers.
Lord Newark.	Lord Pawlet.	Lord Howard of Charleton.
Lord Rich.	Lord Savil.	Lord Lovelace.
Lord Coventry.	Lord Dunsmore.	Lord Mohun.
Lord Capel.		Lord Seymour.
Lord Falkland.	Sir. P. Wich Controller.	Secretary Nicholas.
	Sir J. Colepepper Chan. Exch.	Lord Chief Justice Banks.

This

This Testimony of the Lords and Counsellors was immediately printed, and published, together with a Declaration of his Majesty's, in which he said, B O O K  
V.

“ That though he had, in the last seven Months, met with so many several encounters of strange and unusual Declarations, under the Name of both his Houses of Parliament, that he should not be amazed at any new Prodigy of that kind; and though their last of the 26<sup>th</sup> of *May* gave him a fair warning that, the Contrivers of it having spent all their stock of bitter and reproachful Language upon him, he was now to expect they should break out into some bold, and disloyal Actions against him: And, having by that Declaration, as far in them lay, divested his Majesty of that Pe-eminence and Authority, which God, the Law, the Custom and Consent of this Nation had placed in him, and assumed it to Themselves, that they should likewise, with expedition, put forth the fruits of that Supreme Power, for the violating, and suppressing the other which they despised (an effect of which resolution, he said, their Declaration against his Proclamation concerning the pretended Ordinance for the Militia, and their punishing of the Proclaimers appeared to be) yet, he must confess, in their last Attempt (he said, he spoke of the last he knew; they might probably since, or at that present, have outdone That too) they had outdone what his Majesty had conceived was their present intention. And whosoever heard of Propositions, and Orders, for the bringing in Money or Plate to maintain

His Majesty's  
Declaration  
thereupon.

B O O K " Horse, and Horsemen, and Arms, for the pre-  
 v. " servation of the Public Peace, or for the Defence  
 " of the King and both Houses of Parliament (such  
 " was their Declaration, or what they please to call  
 " it, of the tenth of *June*) would surely believe  
 " the Peace of the Kingdom to be extremely shaken;  
 " and, at least, the King himself to be consulted with,  
 " and privy to those Propositions. But, he said,  
 " he hoped, that when his good Subjects should  
 " find, that that goodly Pretence of defending the  
 " King, was but a specious bait to seduce weak and  
 " inconsiderate Men into the highest Acts of disobe-  
 " dience and disloyalty against his Majesty, and of  
 " violence and destruction upon the Laws and Con-  
 " stitutions of the Kingdom, they would no longer  
 " be captivated by an implicit reverence to the  
 " Name of both Houses of Parliament; but would  
 " carefully examine, and consider what Number of  
 " Persons were present; and What persons were  
 " prevalent in those Consultations; and how the  
 " Debates were probably managed, from whence  
 " such horrid and monstrous Conclusions did result;  
 " and would at least weigh the Reputation, Wis-  
 " dom, and affection of those, who were noto-  
 " riously known out of the very horror of their  
 " Proceedings to have withdrawn themselves; or,  
 " by their skill and violence to be driven from Them,  
 " and their Counsels.  
 " His Majesty said, whilst their Fears and Jealous-  
 " lies did arise, or were infused into the People,  
 " from discourses of the Rebels in *Ireland*, of Skip-  
 " pers at *Rotterdam*, of Forces from *Denmark*, *France*,

“ or *Spain* (how improbable and ridiculous soever  
 “ that bundle of Information appeared to all wise,  
 “ and knowing Men) it was no wonder if the easi-  
 “ nefs to deceive, and the willingness to be deceived,  
 “ did prevail over many of his weak Subjects to  
 “ believe, that the dangers, which they did not see,  
 “ might proceed from causes which they did not  
 “ understand: But for them to declare to all the  
 “ world, that his Majesty intended to make War  
 “ against his Parliament (whilst he sat still complain-  
 “ ing to God Almighty of the injury offered to  
 “ Him, and to the very Being of Parliaments) and  
 “ that he had already begun actually to levy Forces  
 “ both of Horse and Foot (whilst he had only, in a  
 “ legal way, provided a smaller Guard for the secu-  
 “ rity of his own Person so near a Rebellion at *Hull*,  
 “ than They had, without Lawful Authority, above  
 “ these eight Months, upon imaginary and impos-  
 “ sible dangers) to impose upon his People’s Sense,  
 “ as well as their Understanding, by telling them  
 “ his Majesty was doing that which they saw he was  
 “ not doing, and intending that, they all knew, as  
 “ much as Intentions could be known; he was not  
 “ intending, was a boldness agreeable to no power  
 “ but the Omnipotency of those Votes, whose ab-  
 “ solute Supremacy had almost brought confusion  
 “ upon the King and People; and against which  
 “ no knowledge in matter of Fact, or Consent and  
 “ Authority in matter of Law, they would endure  
 “ should be opposed.

“ His Majesty said, he had, upon all occasions,  
 “ with all possible expressions, professed his firm and



B O O K “ unshaken resolutions for Peace. And, he said, he  
 v. “ did again, in the presence of Almighty God, his  
 “ Maker and Redeemer, assure the world, that he had  
 “ no more thought of making War against his Parlia-  
 “ ment, than against his own Children: That he would  
 “ observe, and maintain the Act assented to by him this  
 “ Parliament without violation; of which, That for  
 “ the frequent Assembling of Parliaments was one:  
 “ And that he had not, nor would have, any  
 “ thought of using any Force; unless he should be  
 “ driven to it, for the security of his Person, and  
 “ for the defence of the Religion, Laws, and Liberty  
 “ of the Kingdom, and the just Rights and Pri-  
 “ vileges of Parliament: And therefore he hoped  
 “ the Malignant Party, who had so much despised  
 “ his Person, and usurped his Office, should not,  
 “ by their specious fraudulent insinuations, prevail  
 “ with his good Subjects to give credit to their  
 “ wicked Assertions; and so to contribute their  
 “ Power, and Assistance for the ruin and destruc-  
 “ tion of Themselves, and his Majesty.

“ For the Guard about his Person (which, he said,  
 “ not so much their Example, as their Provocation  
 “ had enforced him to take) it was known it consisted  
 “ of the prime Gentry, in fortune and reputation,  
 “ of that Country, and of One Regiment of Trained-  
 “ bands; who had been so far from offering any  
 “ Affronts, Injuries, or Disturbance to any of his  
 “ good Subjects, that their principal End was to  
 “ prevent such; and so, might be Security, could be  
 “ no Grievance to his People. That some ill affected  
 “ Persons, or any Persons, had been employed in

“ other parts to raise Troops, under color of his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Service; or that such had made large, or any,  
 “ offers of reward, and preferment to such as would  
 “ come in, which had been alledged by them, was,  
 “ he said, for ought he knew, or believed, an  
 “ untruth devised by the Contrivers of that false  
 “ Rumor. His Majesty disavowed it, and said he was  
 “ confident there would be no need of any such Art,  
 “ or Industry, to induce his loving Subjects, when  
 “ they should see his Majesty oppressed, and their  
 “ Liberties and Laws confounded (and till Then he  
 “ would not call on them) to come in to him, and  
 “ to assist him.

“ For the Delinquents, whom his Majesty was said  
 “ with a high and forcible hand to protect, he wished  
 “ they might be named, and their Delinquency :  
 “ And if, his Majesty gave not satisfaction to Justice,  
 “ when he should have received satisfaction concer-  
 “ ning Sir *John Hotham* by his Legal Trial, Then  
 “ let him be blamed. But if the design were, as  
 “ it was well known to be, after his Majesty had  
 “ been driven by force from his City of *London*,  
 “ and kept by force from his Town of *Hull*, to pro-  
 “ tect all those who were Delinquents against him,  
 “ and to make all those Delinquents who attended  
 “ on him, or executed his Lawful Commands, he  
 “ said, he had great reason to be satisfied in the truth  
 “ and justice of such Accusation, lest to be his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Servant, and to be a Delinquent, grew to  
 “ Terms so convertible, that, in a short time, he  
 “ were left as naked in Attendance, as they would  
 “ have him in Power; and so compel him to be

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“ waited upon only by such whom They should  
 “ appoint, and allow; and in whose presence he  
 “ should be more miserably alone, than in desola-  
 “ tion itself. And if the seditious Contrivers and  
 “ Forerunners of that Scandal upon his Majesty should  
 “ have, as they had had, the power to mislead  
 “ the Major part present of either or both Houses  
 “ to make such Orders, and send such Messages and  
 “ Messengers, as they had lately done, for the appre-  
 “ hension of the great Earls and Barons of *England* as  
 “ if they were Rogues or Felons, and whereby  
 “ Persons of Honor and Quality were made Delin-  
 “ quents, merely for attending upon his Majesty  
 “ and upon his Summons; whilst other Men were  
 “ forbid to come near him, though obliged by the  
 “ duty of their Place and Oaths, upon his Law-  
 “ ful Commands: It was no wonder if Such Mes-  
 “ sengers were not very well treated; and Such  
 “ Orders not well obeyed; neither could there be a  
 “ surer, or a cunninger way found out to render the  
 “ Authority of both Houses scorned and vilified,  
 “ than to assume to themselves (merely upon the  
 “ Authority of the Name of Parliament) a Power  
 “ monstrous to all understandings; and to do Ac-  
 “ tions, and to make Orders, evidently and demon-  
 “ strably contrary to all known Law, and Reason  
 “ (as to take up Arms against his Majesty under  
 “ color of defending him; to cause Money to be  
 “ brought in to Them, and to forbid his own Money  
 “ to be paid to his Majesty, or to his use, under  
 “ color that he would employ it ill; to beat him,  
 “ and starve him for his own Good, and by his

“ Power and Authority ) which would in short time  
 “ make the greatest Court, and greatest Person,  
 “ cheap and of no estimation.

“ Who those sensible Men were of the public  
 “ Calamities, of the violations of the Privileges of  
 “ Parliament, and the Common Liberty of the  
 “ Subject, who had been baffled, and injured by  
 “ Malignant Men, and Cavaliers about his Majesty,  
 “ his Majesty said, he could not imagine. And if  
 “ those Cavaliers were so much without the fear of  
 “ God and Man, and so ready to commit all manner  
 “ of outrage and violence, as was pretended, his  
 “ Majesty’s Government ought to be the more  
 “ esteemed, which had kept them from doing so;  
 “ inasmuch as he believed, no Person had cause to  
 “ complain of any injury, or of any damage, in the  
 “ least degree, by any Man about his Majesty, or  
 “ who had offered his Service to him. All which  
 “ being, he said, duly considered, if the Contri-  
 “ vers of those Propositions and Orders had been  
 “ truly sensible of the obligations, which lay upon  
 “ them in Honor, Conscience, and Duty, accord-  
 “ ing to the high Trust reposed in them by his  
 “ Majesty, and his People, they would not have  
 “ published such a sense and apprehension of Immi-  
 “ nent danger, when themselves, in their Con-  
 “ sciences, knew that the greatest, and indeed only  
 “ danger, which threatened the Church and State,  
 “ the blessed Religion and Liberty of his People,  
 “ was in their own desperate and seditious Designs;  
 “ and would not have endeavoured, upon such weak  
 “ and groundless reasons, to seduce his good Sub.



BOOK V “ ject from their Affection and Loyalty to him , to  
 “ run themselves into Actions unwarrantable and  
 “ destructive to the Peace and Foundation of the  
 “ Common-wealth.

“ And that all his loving Subjects might see , how  
 “ causeless and groundless that scandalous Rumor ,  
 “ and Imputation of his Majesty's raising War upon  
 “ his Parliament , was he had , with that his Decla-  
 “ ration , caused to be printed the Testimony of  
 “ those Lords , and other Persons of his Council ,  
 “ who were there with him ; who , being upon the  
 “ place , could not but discover such his Intentions  
 “ and Preparations ; and could not be suspected for  
 “ their Honors and Interests to combine in such mis-  
 “ chievous , and horrid resolutions.

“ And therefore , his Majesty said , he straitly  
 “ charged and commanded all his loving Subjects ,  
 “ upon their Allegiance , and as they would Answer  
 “ the contrary at their Perils , that they should yield  
 “ no obedience , or consent to the said Propositions  
 “ and Orders ; and that they presume not under any  
 “ such Pretences , or by color of any such Orders ,  
 “ to raise or levy any Horse or Men , or to bring in  
 “ any Money or Plate to such purpose But , he  
 “ said , if notwithstanding that clear Declaration ,  
 “ and Evidence of his Intentions , those Men ( whose  
 “ design it was to compel his Majesty to raise War  
 “ upon his Parliament ; which all their skill and  
 “ malice should never be able to effect ) should think  
 “ fit , by those Alarms , to awaken him to a more  
 “ necessary care of the defence of Himself , and his  
 “ People ; and should Themselves , under color

“ of Defence, in so unheard of a manner provide  
“ (and seduce others to do so too) to Offend his  
“ Majesty, having given him so lively a Testimony  
“ of their Affections, what they were willing to do,  
“ when they should once have made themselves  
“ Able; all his good Subjects would think it neces-  
“ sary for his Majesty to look to Himself. And he  
“ did therefore excite all his well affected People,  
“ according to their Oaths of Allegiance, and Sa-  
“ premacy, and according to their solemn Vow,  
“ and Protestation (whereby they were obliged to  
“ defend his Person, Honor, and Estate) to con-  
“ tribute their best Assistance to the Preparations  
“ necessary for the opposing, and suppressing of the  
“ Trayterous Attempts of such wicked and ma-  
“ lignant Persons; who would destroy his Person,  
“ Honor, and Estate, and engage the whole King-  
“ dom in a Civil War, to satisfy their own lawless  
“ Fury and Ambition; and so rob his good Subjects  
“ of the blessed fruit of this present Parliament;  
“ which they already in some degree had, and might  
“ still reap, to the abundant satisfaction and joy of  
“ the whole Kingdom, if such wicked hands were  
“ not ready to ruin all their possessions, and frustrate  
“ all their hopes. And, in that case, his Majesty  
“ declared, that whosoever, of what Degree or  
“ Quality soever, should then, upon so urgent and  
“ visiblenecessity of His, and such apparent distrac-  
“ tion of the Kingdom, caused, and begotten by  
“ the malice and contrivance of that Malignant  
“ Party, bring in to his Majesty, and to his use,  
“ ready Money, or Plate; or should underwrite

BOOK V. “ to furnish any Number of Horſe , Horſemen , and  
 “ Arms , for the preſervation of the Public Peace  
 “ and defence of his Perſon , and the vindication  
 “ of the Privilege and Freedom of Parliament , he  
 “ would receive it as a moſt acceptable Service ,  
 “ and as a Teſtimony of his ſingular Affection to  
 “ the Proteſtant Religion , the Laws , Liberties ,  
 “ and Peace of the Kingdom ; and would no longer  
 “ deſire the continuance of that Affection , than he  
 “ would be ready to juſtify , and maintain the other  
 “ with the hazard of his life.”

And ſo concluded with the ſame Overtures They  
 had done , in their Propoſitions for the Loan of  
 Money at intereſt ; “ offering , for the ſecurity there-  
 “ of , an Assurance of ſuch his Lands , Foreſts ,  
 “ Parks , and Houſes , as ſhould be ſufficient for  
 “ the ſame ; a more real ſecurity , he ſaid , than the  
 “ Name of public Faith , given without him , and  
 “ againſt him ; as if his Maſteſty were not part of the  
 “ Public ; And beſides , he would always look upon  
 “ it as a ſervice moſt affectionately , and ſeaſonably  
 “ performed for the preſervation of his Maſteſty ,  
 “ and the Kingdom. But , he ſaid , he ſhould be  
 “ much gladder that their ſubmiſſion to thoſe his  
 “ Commands , and their deſiſting from any ſuch  
 “ Attempt of raiſing Horſe or Men , might eaſe  
 “ all his good Subjects of that charge , trouble ,  
 “ and vexation.”

It will be wondered at hereafter , when , by what  
 hath been ſaid , the Number and Quality of the  
 Peers is conſidered , who , by abſenting themſelves  
 from the Houſe , and their reſort to his Maſteſty ,

sufficiently declared, that they liked not those Conclusions which begot those Distractions; why both those Peers and likewise such Members of the Commons, who then, and afterwards appeared in the King's Service, and were indeed full, or very near one Moiety of that House, did not rather, by their diligent and faithful Attendance in the Houses, according to their several Trusts reposed in them, discountenance and resist those pernicious and fatal transactions, than, by withdrawing themselves from their proper Stations, leave the other (whose ruinous Intentions were sufficiently discovered) possessed of the Reputation, Authority, and Power of a Parliament; by which, it was evident, the People would be easily, to a great degree, seduced. And though the observing Reader may, upon the collection of the several passages here set down, be able to answer those objections to himself; I am the rather induced, in this place, to apply myself to the clearing that Point, because not only many honest Men, who, at a distance, have considered it, without being Privy to the passages within the walls, and those breaches which fatally destroyed, and took away the Liberty and Freedom of those Councils, have been really troubled or unsatisfied with that Desertion, as they call it, of the Service to which they were incumbent, and chosen; but that I have heard some, who were the chief, if not the sole Promoters of those Violations, and the most violent Designs, and have since (out of the Ruptures, which have proceeded from their own Animosities) either been, or been thought to be, more



B O O K moderately inclined, complain, "that the with-  
 v. "drawing of so many Members from the two  
 "Houses, was the Principal Cause of all Calamities."  
 And they who have been the true Authors of them,  
 and still continue the same men, have taken pains  
 to make, and declare the others "Deferters of their  
 "Country, and betrayers of their Trusts, by their  
 "Voluntary withdrawing themselves from that  
 "Council."

In the doing whereof, I shall not, I cannot, make  
 any excuse for those (of whom somewhat is before  
 spoken) who, from the beginning of this Parlia-  
 ment, and in the whole progress of it, either out of  
 laziness, or negligence, or incogitancy, or weariness,  
 forbore to give their attendance there, when  
 the Number of those who really intended these pro-  
 digious Alterations was very inconsiderable; and  
 daily drew many to their opinions, upon no other  
 ground than that the Number of the Dissenters  
 appeared not equally diligent, and intent upon their  
 Assertions: Neither can I excuse the Peers, the  
 moderate Part whereof being Four for One, suffered  
 themselves to be cozened, and persuaded, and  
 threatened out of their Rights by a handful of Men,  
 whom they might, in the beginning, easily have  
 crushed; whereas in the House of Commons the  
 great Managers were Men of notable parts, much  
 reputation, admirable dexterity; Pretenders to se-  
 vere justice, and regularity; and then the Number  
 of the weak, and the wilful, who naturally were to  
 be guided by them, always made up a Major part;  
 so that, from the beginning, they were always

able to carry whatsoever they set their hearts visibly upon; at least, to discredit, or disgrace any particular Man against whom they thought necessary to proceed, albeit of the most unblemished reputation, and upon the most frivolous suggestions; so that they could not but be very formidable, in that House, to all but the most abstracted Men from all vulgar considerations.

But, I am confident, whosoever diligently revolves the several passages in both Houses, from the time of the publishing the first Remonstrance, upon his Majesty's Return from *Scotland*, to the time of which we last speak, must be of opinion, that the resorting of so many Members Then to his Majesty (from whom all the Lords, and some of the Commons, received Commands to that purpose) or to such places, where they thought they might be of greatest use to his Majesty in preservation of the Peace of the Kingdom, was not only an Act of Duty, but of such Prudence and Discretion, as sober and honest Men were to be guided by. In the House of Peers, the Bishops, who had as much Right to sit there, and were as much Members of Parliament as any Lord there, were first, by direct violence and force, a great part of them, driven and kept from thence, till the Bill, for the Total expulsion of the whole Order from those seats, was passed; such of the Peers, who were most remarkable for adhering to the Government of the Church, being, in the mean time, threatened publicly by the Rabble; and some of their Persons Assaulted. The business of the Militia had been twice, upon solemn

**B O O K** debate in a full House, rejected there; till such force  
**V.** and violence was brought to the very doors, such  
 expostulations and threats delivered within the doors  
 against those who refused to concur with them in  
 that business, that no Man had reason to believe  
 his life out of danger from those rude hands, who  
 was taken notice of for an Opposer of their unrea-  
 sonable desires; some of them having been declared  
 Enemies to their Country. for having refused what  
 was in their power lawfully to refuse; and others  
 having been Criminally accused by the Commons,  
 for Words spoken by them in Debates of the House  
 of Peers; after which many of them were sent for,  
 by special Letters, to attend his Majesty (which  
 Letters were always thought to be a good, and  
 warrantable, and sufficient ground to be absent from  
 the House; nor had such Summons, from the be-  
 ginning of Parliaments to this present, ever been  
 neglected) with whom they had not been many  
 weeks, but two of them, as hath been mentioned  
 before, upon an untrue and extravagant informa-  
 tion, without further examination, were declared  
 Enemies to the Kingdom; and nine others by solemn  
 judgment, upon an Impeachment brought up by  
 the Commons against them, only for being absent,  
 and for what only concerned the Privilege and Ju-  
 risdiction of the Peers, were disabled to sit in the  
 House again during this Session; so that, if they  
 would have returned, they were actually excluded  
 that Council.

In the House of Commons, the case was worse:  
 First, they who had, with that Liberty which is

essential to Parliaments, and according to their understandings, dissented or declared a dislike of what the Violent Party so vehemently pursued, were, as hath been said before, declared Enemies to their Country; and their Names posted up in Paper, or Parchment, at most eminent places, under some opprobrious Character; which, though it was not avowed, and had no Authority from the House by any public Act, yet, being complained of, was neither redressed, nor was the complaint so countenanced, that it could be concluded the Violation was unacceptable: so, though the Tumults were not directly summoned or assembled, it is evident, by what hath been before set forth truly and at large, that they found there visible countenance, and encouragement.

Then, what had been, upon full and solemn Debates in a full House, rejected, was many times, in a thin House, and at unusual and unparliamentary Hours, resumed, and determined contrary to the former Conclusions: Yet Men satisfied themselves with doing what they thought their Duty, and reasonably opposing what the Major part ordered to be done; hoping that Men's understandings would be shortly better informed; and that though high and irreverent Expressions, and Words were sometimes used against the King, there would be abstaining from unlawful and dangerous Actions; and that the House of Peers, at least, would never be brought to join, or concur in any Act prejudicial to the Sovereign power. But when they saw a new way found out by the dexterity of the Major part in the House of Commons, to make the Minor part of



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the Lords too hard for the Major; and so, whilst all Men were transported with jealousy of the breach of Privilege of Parliament by the King, that there was, by the Houses Themselves, an absolute rooting up of all Privileges: That from Metaphysical considerations, what *might* be done in case of necessity, the Militia of the Kingdom was Actually seized on; and put under a Command contrary to, and against the King's Command: That there was then a Resolution taken, by those who could Act their Resolutions when they pleased, to make a General, and to oblige all the Members to live and die with that General; which will be anon more particularly mentioned (for that Resolution was well known before the time that those many Members removed to *York*, and withdrew to other places; and was executed within three or four days after) Men thought it high time to look to their innocence, and (since by the Course and Orders of that House, they could leave no monument or evidence of their dissenting, as the Lords might, by their Protections upon any unlawful Act, or Resolution) to declare their dislike of what was Done, by not being present at the Doing: And it was reasonably thought, there being no other way peaceably and securely to do it, that the Kingdom, understanding the Number of those that were present at such new transactions, and weighing the Quality, Number, and Reputation of those who were absent, would be best induced to prefer the old Laws of the Kingdom, before the new Votes (destructive to those Laws) of those few Men, who called themselves the two Houses

of

of Parliament; and that it would prove a good Expedient to work upon the consciences, and modesty of those who stayed behind, to conclude it necessary, by some fair Addresses to his Majesty, to endeavour such a general good understanding, that a perfect union might be made; and the Privilege, Dignity, and Security of Parliament, be established according to the true, and just Constitution of it.

It is true, how reasonably soever it might be expected, it produced not that Ingenuity; but they who had been troubled with the company of them that afterwards withdrew, and, by the opposition they made, could not make that expedition in the mischief they intended, were glad they were rid of them; yet, shortly, considering what influence indeed it might have upon understanding Men, they found a way to cast a reproach upon those who were absent, and yet to prevent any inconvenience to themselves by their return; publishing an Order, “that all the Members absent should appear at such a day, under the Penalty of paying each 100*l.* fine for his absence;” and whosoever did not appear at that day (which gave not time enough to any who were at a distance) “should not presume to sit in the House, before he had paid his fine, and satisfied the House with the cause of his absence;” So that all those who were with the King, and very many more, who had really withdrawn themselves to refresh their minds, or upon necessary affairs of their own, with a purpose to return, clearly discerned themselves excluded from sitting any more there; it being sufficiently manifest, that the Cause of their

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absence would never be approved, if their Persons were disliked, and their Opinions disapproved: Which appeared quickly; for the day was no sooner past, but they, without the least warrant of Precedent or color of Right, expelled very many, sometimes twenty a day, not only of those who were with the King, but of others who had given them equal distaste; and ordered new Writs to issue out to chuse other Members in their Rooms.

It cannot be denied but some very honest and entire Men stayed still there, and opposed all their unjustifiable proceedings with great courage, and much liberty of Speech; which was more frankly permitted to them than had been before, when the Number of the Dissenters was greater; and it may be there are still some who satisfy themselves that they have performed their Duty, by always having denied to give their consent to whatsoever hath been seditiously, or illegally concluded. But I must Appeal to the consciences of those very Men, whether they have not been many times, by staying there, compelled, or terrified to do, and submit to many Acts contrary to their Conscience, in cases of Conscience; and contrary to their Judgment and Knowledge, in matters of Law, and Right; and contrary to their Oaths and Duties, in matters of Allegiance; and whether if they had refused so to do, they should not have been plundered, expelled, and committed to Prison? And then They cannot be thought to have proceeded unreasonably, who, to preserve their Innocence, and their Liberty, chose to undergo all the other Censures and Difficulties

which could befall them, and which have been since plentifully poured upon them. But to return. BOOK  
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The King had at this time, called to him some Judges, and Lawyers of eminence; by whose Advice he published a Declaration concerning the Militia, and asserted "the Right of the Crown in granting " Commissions of Array, for the better ordering " and governing thereof;" and, at the same time, issued out those Commissions to all Counties, " expressly forbidding any obedience to be given to " the Ordinance for the Militia by both Houses, " under the penalty of High-Treason." This only improved the Paper-combate in Declarations; either Party insisting, "that the Law was on Their side;" and the People giving obedience to either, according to their conveniences: And many did believe, that if the King had resorted to the old known way of Lord Lieutenants, and Deputy Lieutenants, his service would have been better carried on; the Commission of Array being a thing they had not before heard of, though founded upon an Ancient Act of Parliament in the Reign of *Hen. iv.* and so was received with jealousy, and easily discredited by the glosses and suggestions of the Houses.

Besides that some Men of very good Affections to the Crown, and averse enough to the extravagant pretences and proceedings of the Parliament, did not conceal their prejudice to the Commission of Array, as not warranted by Law; which did very much work upon other Men, and made the obedience less cheerful that was given to that service. Mr. *Selden* had, in the Debate upon that Subject



**B O O K** in the House of Commons, declared himself very  
**V.** positively, and with much sharpness against the  
 Commission of Array, as a thing expressly without  
 any Authority of Law; the Statute upon which it  
 was grounded being, as he said, repealed; and dis-  
 coursed very much of the ill Consequences, which  
 might result from submitting to it: He answered  
 the Arguments which had been used to support it;  
 and easily prevailed with the House not to like a pro-  
 ceeding, which they knew was intended to do them  
 hurt, and to lessen their Authority. But his Autho-  
 rity and Reputation prevailed much further than the  
 House, and began a prejudice against it in many well  
 affected Men without doors: When the King was in-  
 formed of it, he was much troubled, having looked  
 upon Mr. *Selden* as well disposed to his Service. And  
 the Lord *Falkland*, with his Majesty's leave, writ a  
 friendly Letter to Mr. *Selden*, "to know his reason,  
 " why in such a conjuncture, whatever his opinion  
 " were, he would oppose the submission to the Com-  
 " mission of Array, which no body could deny  
 " to have had it's original from Law, and which  
 " many Learned Men still believed to be very Legal,  
 " to make way for the establishment of an Ordi-  
 " nance which had no manner of pretence to Right."  
 He Answered this Letter very frankly, as a Man  
 who believed himself in the right upon the Com-  
 mission of Array, and that the Arguments he had  
 used against it could not be Answered; summing up  
 some of those Arguments in as few words as they  
 could be comprehended in: But then he did as frankly  
 inveigh against the Ordinance for the Militia,

“ which, he said, was without any shadow of Law  
 “ or pretence of Precedent, and most destructive to  
 “ the Government of the Kingdom: And he did  
 “ acknowledge, that he had been the more inclined  
 “ to make that discourse in the House against the  
 “ Commission, that he might with the more free-  
 “ dom argue against the Ordinance; which was to  
 “ be considered upon a day then appointed: And  
 “ was most confident, that he should likewise over-  
 “ throw the Ordinance: which, he considered, could  
 “ be less supported, and he did believe, that it would  
 “ be much better, if both were rejected, than if  
 “ either of them should stand, and remain uncon-  
 “ trolled ” But his confidence deceived him; and  
 he quickly found, that They who suffered them-  
 selves to be entirely governed by his Reason, when  
 those Conclusions resulted from it which contri-  
 buted to their own designs, would not be at all  
 guided by it, or submit to it, when it persuaded that  
 which contradicted, and would disappoint those  
 designs: And so, upon the day appointed for the  
 debate of their Ordinance, when he applied all his  
 faculties to the convincing them of the illegality and  
 monstrousness of it, by arguments at least as clear  
 and demonstrable as his former had been, they made  
 no impression upon them; but were easily answered  
 by those who with most Passion insisted upon their  
 own sense. He had satisfied them very well, when  
 he concurred with them in judgment: but his Rea-  
 sons were weak, when they crossed their Resolu-  
 tions. So most Men are deceived in being too rea-  
 sonable; concluding that Reason will prevail upon

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those Men to submit to what is Right and Just, who have no other consideration of Right or Justice, but as it advances their Interest, or complies with their Humor, and Passion. And so easy it hath always been to do harm, and to mislead Men, and so hard to do good, and reduce them to Reason

These Paper-skirmishes left neither side better inclined to the other; but, by sharpening each other, drew the matter nearer to an issue. The King had written a Letter to the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, and to the Masters and Wardens of each Company; by which, “ he assured them, of his desire of the Peace of the Kingdom; and therefore required them, as they tendered their Charter of the City, and their own particular Welfares, not to bring in Horses, Money, or Plate, upon the Propositions of the Houses, whereby, under pretence of raising a Guard for the Parliament, Forces would be levied, and, in truth, employed against his Majesty:” Of which the Houses taking notice, published a Declaration to the City, “ That they could not be secured by his Majesty’s Protestations, that his desires, and purposes were for the Public Peace; since it appeared, by divers expressions, and proceedings of his Majesty, that he intended to use Force against those who submitted to the Ordinance of the Militia; and that he had likewise some intention of making an Attempt upon *Hull*. In both which cases, they did declare, that whatsoever Violence should be used, either against those who exercise the Militia, or against *Hull*, They could not but believe it as

The Parliament’s Declaration to the City, upon a Letter from the King to the Mayor, and Aldermen.

“ done against the Parliament. They told them that  
 “ the dangerous, and mischievous intentions of  
 “ some about his Majesty were such, that what-  
 “ soever was most precious to Men of Conscience  
 “ and Honor, as Religion, Liberty, and Public  
 “ Safety, were like to be overwhelmed and lost in  
 “ the general confusion and calamity of the King-  
 “ dom; which would not only question, but over-  
 “ throw the Charter of the City of *London*; expose  
 “ the Citizens, their Wives and Children, to vio-  
 “ lence and villany; and leave the Wealth of that  
 “ famous City as a Prey to those desperate, and  
 “ necessitous Persons: And therefore they forbid  
 “ all the Officers to publish that Paper, as they  
 “ would answer their Contempt to the Parliament,  
 “ by the Power and Authority of which, they  
 “ assured them, they should be protected, and se-  
 “ cured in their Persons, Liberties, and Estates, for  
 “ whatsoever they should do by Their advice or  
 “ persuasion.

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To this the King replied, “ That he wondered  
 “ since they had usurped the supreme Power to  
 “ themselves, they had not taken upon them the  
 “ supreme Style too; and directed their very new  
 “ Declaration to their Trusty and Well-beloved,  
 “ their Subjects of the City of *London*: For it was  
 “ too great and palpable a Scorn, to persuade them  
 “ to take up Arms against his Persons, under Color  
 “ of being loving Subjects to his Office; and to de-  
 “ stroy his Person, that they might preserve the  
 “ King: That he was beholding to them, that they  
 “ had explained to all his good Subjects the meaning

The King's  
 Reply.



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“ of their Charge against his Majesty, that by  
 “ his intention of making War against his Parlia-  
 “ ment, no more was pretended to be meant. but  
 “ his resolution not to submit to the high Injustice  
 “ and Indignity of the Ordinance for the Militia,  
 “ and the business of *Hull*. He said, he had never  
 “ concealed his intentions in either of those Parti-  
 “ culars (he wished They would deal as clearly  
 “ with Him) but had always, and did now declare,  
 “ That that pretended Ordinance was against the  
 “ Law of the Land; against the Liberty and Pro-  
 “ perty of the Subject; destructive to Sovereignty;  
 “ and therefore not consistent with the very Con-  
 “ stitution and Essence of the Kingdom, and the  
 “ Right and Privilege of Parliament: That he was  
 “ bound by his Oath (and all his Subjects were bound  
 “ by theirs of Allegiance, and Supremacy, and their  
 “ own Protestation lately taken, to assist his Ma-  
 “ jesty) to oppose that Ordinance, which was put  
 “ already in execution against him, not only by  
 “ Training and Arming his Subjects, but by forc-  
 “ ibly removing the Magazine, from the place trusted  
 “ by the County, to their own Houses, and guarding  
 “ it there with Armed Men: Whither it would be  
 “ next removed, and how used by such Persons,  
 “ he knew not.

“ That the keeping his Majesty out of *Hull* by  
 “ Sir. *John Hotham*, was an Act of High-Treason  
 “ against his Majesty; and the taking away his Ma-  
 “ gazine and Munition from him, was an Act of  
 “ Violence upon his Majesty, by what hands or by  
 “ whose direction soever it was done: And, in both

“ cases, by the help of God, and the Law, his  
 “ Majesty said, he would have Justice, or lose his  
 “ Life in the requiring it; the which he did not  
 “ value at that rate, as to preserve it with the In-  
 “ famy of suffering himself to be robbed, and spoiled  
 “ of that Dignity he was born to. And if it were  
 “ possible for his good Subjects to believe, that  
 “ such a Defence of himself, with the utmost power  
 “ and strength he could raise, was making a War  
 “ against his Parliament, he did not doubt, however  
 “ it should please God to dispose of him in that con-  
 “ tention, but the justice of his Cause would, at  
 “ the last, prevail against those few Malignant  
 “ Spirits, who, for their own ends and ambitious  
 “ designs, had so misled and corrupted the under-  
 “ standings of his People. And since neither his own  
 “ Declaration, nor the Testimony of so many of his  
 “ Lords, then with his Majesty, could procure cre-  
 “ dit with those Men, but that they proceeded to  
 “ levy Horse, and to raise Money and Arms against  
 “ his Majesty, he said, he was not to be blamed,  
 “ if after so many gracious expostulations with them  
 “ upon undeniable principles of Law and Reason  
 “ (which they answered only by Voting that which  
 “ his Majesty said, to be neither Law, nor Reason;  
 “ and so proceeded actually to levy War upon his  
 “ Majesty, to justify that which could not be other-  
 “ wise defended) at last he made such provision,  
 “ that as he had been driven from *London*, and kept  
 “ from *Hull*, he might not be surpris'd at *York*; but  
 “ be in a condition to resist, and bring to justice  
 “ those Men, who would persuade his People that

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“ their Religion was in danger, because his Majesty  
 “ would not consent it should be in Their power to  
 “ alter it by their Votes; or their Liberty in danger,  
 “ because he would allow no Judge of that Liberty,  
 “ but the known Law of the Land: Yet, he said,  
 “ whatever provision he should be compelled to  
 “ make for his security, he would be ready to lay  
 “ down, as soon as they should revoke the Orders  
 “ by which they had made Levies, and submitted  
 “ those Persons, who had detained his Towns,  
 “ carried away his Arms, and put the Militia in  
 “ execution contrary to his Proclamation, to that  
 “ Trial of their innocence, which the Law had di-  
 “ rected, and to which they were born: If that  
 “ were not submitted to, he should, with a good  
 “ conscience, proceed against those who should pre-  
 “ sume to exercise that pretended Ordinance for the  
 “ Militia, and the other who should keep his Town  
 “ of *Hull* from him, as he would resist Persons who  
 “ came to take away his Life, or his Crown from  
 “ him.

“ And therefore his Majesty again remembered,  
 “ and required his City of *London* to obey his former  
 “ Commands, and not to be misled by the Oration  
 “ of those Men, who were made desperate by their  
 “ Fortunes, or their Fortunes by Them; who told  
 “ them their Religion, Liberty, and Property, was  
 “ to be preserved no other way, but by their Disloy-  
 “ alty to his Majesty: That they were now at the  
 “ brink of the River, and might draw their Swords  
 “ (which was an expression used at a great conven-  
 “ tion of the City) when nothing pursued them but

“ their own evil consciences. He wished them to  
 “ consider, whether their Estates came to them,  
 “ and were settled upon them, by Orders of both  
 “ Houses, or by that Law which his Majesty defended:  
 “ What security they could have to enjoy  
 “ their own, when they had helped to rob his Majesty;  
 “ and what a happy conclusion That War  
 “ was like to have, which was raised to oppress  
 “ their Sovereign: That the wealth and glory of  
 “ their City was not like to be destroyed any other  
 “ way, but by Rebelling against his Majesty; and  
 “ that way inevitably it must; nor their Wives and  
 “ Children to be exposed to violence and villany,  
 “ but by those who make their Appetite and Will  
 “ the measure, and guide to all their Actions. He  
 “ advised them not to fancy to themselves Melan-  
 “ choly apprehensions, which were capable of no  
 “ satisfaction; but seriously to consider what security  
 “ they could have, that they had not under his Majesty,  
 “ or had not been offered by him: And whether the  
 “ Doctrine those Men taught, and would have them defend,  
 “ did not destroy the Foundations upon which their security was built?

The great conflux that hath been mentioned, of Men of all Conditions, and Qualities, and Humors, could not continue long together at *York*, without some impatience and commotion; and most Men wondered, that there appeared no provisions to be made towards a War, which they saw would be inevitable: And when the Levies of Soldiers under the Earl of *Essex* were hastened with so much vigor, that the King should have no other Preparations



**B O O K** towards an Army, than a single Troop of Guards  
**V.** made up of Gentlemen Volunteers; who, all Men  
 foresaw, would quit the Troop when there should  
 be an Army: And many do yet believe, that the  
 King too long deferred his recourse to Arms; and  
 that if he had raised Forces upon his first repulse at  
*Hull*, his service would have been very much ad-  
 vanced; and that the Parliament would not have  
 been able to have drawn an Army together. And  
 so Men still reproach the Councils which were then  
 about the King, as they were censured by many at  
 that time; but neither They then nor These now  
 do understand the true reason hereof. The King  
 had not, at that time, one Barrel of Powder, nor  
 one Musquet, nor any other provision necessary  
 for an Army, and which was worse, was not sure  
 of any Port, to which they might be securely as-  
 signed; nor had he Money for the support of his  
 own Table for the term of one Month. He expected,  
 with impatience, the arrival of all those necessities,  
 by the care and activity of the Queen; who was  
 then in *Holland*, and by the sale of her own, as  
 well as of the Crown-Jewels, and by the friendship  
 of *Henry Prince of Orange*, did all she could to pro-  
 vide all that was necessary; and the King had newly  
 directed her to send all to *New-Castle*, which was  
 but then secured to him by the diligence of the Earl  
 of that Name. In the mean time both the King Him-  
 self, and they who best knew the state of his Affairs,  
 seemed to be without any thoughts of making  
 War; and to hope, that the Parliament would at  
 last incline to some Accommodation; for which both

his Majesty, and those Persons were exposed to a B O O K  
thousand reproaches. V.

The Queen had many difficulties to contend with; for though the Prince of *Orange* had a very signal affection for the King's Service, and did all he could to dispose the States to concern themselves in his Majesty's Quarrel; yet his Authority, and Interest, was much diminished with the vigor of his Body and Mind: And the States of *Holland* were so far from being inclined to the King, that they did him all the mischief they could. They had before assisted the Rebellion in *Scotland* with giving them credit for Arms and Ammunition, before they had money to buy any; and they did afterwards, several ways, discover their affections to the Parliament; which had so many Spies there, that the Queen could do nothing they had not present notice of; so that it was no easy matter for the Queen to provide Arms and Ammunition, but the Parliament had present notice of it, and of the ways which were thought upon to transport them to the King: And then their Fleet, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, lay ready to obstruct and intercept that Communication; nor was any remedy in view to remove this mischief; insomuch as it was no easy thing for the King to send to, or to receive Letters from, the Queen.

There was a small Ship of 28 or 30 Guns, that was part of the Fleet that waited her Majesty into *Holland* from *Dover*, which was called the *Providence*, under the Command of Captain *Straugham*, when the Fleet was Commanded by Sir *John*

BOOK V. *Pennington*, and before the Earl of *Warwick* was super-  
induced into that Charge against the King's Will. That Ship, the Captain whereof was known to be faithful to his Majesty, was, by the Queen, detained and kept in *Holland* from the time of her Majesty's Arrival, under several pretences, of which the Captain made use, when he afterwards received Orders from the Earl of *Warwick* "to repair to the " Fleet in the *Downs*;" until, after many promises and excuses, it was at last discerned that he had other Business and Commands; and so was watched, by the other Ships, as an enemy. This Vessel the Queen resolved to send to the King, principally to inform his Majesty of the straits she was in; of the provisions she had made; and to return with such particular Advice, and Directions from his Majesty, that she might take further resolutions: And because the Vessel was light, and drew not much Water, and so could run into any Creek, or open Road, or Harbour, and, from thence, easily send an express to the King; there was put into it about two hundred Barrels of Powder, and two or three thousand Arms with seven or eight Field-Pieces; which, they knew, would be very welcome to the King, and serve for a beginning and countenance to draw Forces together. The Captain was no sooner put to Sea, but notice was sent to the Commander of the Fleet in the *Downs*; who immediately sent three or four Ships to the North, which easily got the Providence in View, before it could reach that Coast; and chased it with all their Sails, till they saw it enter into the River of *Humber*;

when, looking upon it as their own, they made less haste to follow it, being content to drive it before them into their own Port of *Hull*; there being, as they thought, no other way to escape them; until they plainly saw the Ship entering into a narrow Creek out of *Humber*, which declined *Hull*, and led into the Country some Miles above it; which was a place well known to the Captain, and designed by him to arrive at from the beginning. It was in vain for them to hasten their pursuit; for they quickly found that their great Ships could not enter into that passage, and that the River was too shallow to follow him; and, so, with shame and anger, they gave over the Chase; whilst the Captain continued his course; and having never thought of saving the Ship, run it on Shore on that side towards *Burlington*; and, with all expedition, gave notice to the King of his arrival; who, immediately, caused the Persons of Quality, in the parts adjacent, to draw the Trained-bands of the Country together, to secure the incursions from *Hull*; and by this means, the Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery, were quickly brought to *York*.

The King was well content that it should be generally believed, that this small Ship, the size whereof was known to few, had brought a greater quantity and proportion of Provisions for the War, than in truth it had; and therefore, though it had brought no Money, which he expected, he forthwith granted Commissions, to raise Regiments of Horse and Foot, to such Persons of Quality and Interest, as were able to comply with their obliga-



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tions. He declared the Earl of *Lindsey*. Lord High Chamberlain of *England*, his General of the Army; a Person of great Honor and Courage, and generally beloved; who many years before had good Commands in *Holland*, and *Germany*, and had been Admiral at Sea in several Expeditions. Sir *Jacob Ashley* was declared Major General of the Foot, a Command he was very equal to, and had exercised before, and executed after, with great approbation. The Generalship of the Horse, his Majesty preserved for his Nephew Prince *Rupert*; who was daily expected, and arrived soon after: And all Levies were hastened with as much expedition as was possible in so great a scarcity, and notorious want of Money; of which no more need be said, after it is remembered that all the Lords, and Council about the King, with several other Persons of Quality, voluntarily made a Subscription for the payment of so many Horse for three Months: in which time they would needs believe, that the War should be at an end; every one paying down what the three Months pay would amount to, into the hands of a Treasurer appointed to receive it; and this Money was presently paid for the making those Levies of Horse, which were designed; and which could not have been made but by those Moneys.

And now the King thought it time to execute a Resolution he had long intended, and which many Men wondered he neglected so long; which was, as much as in him lay, to take the Admiralty into his own hands. He had long too much cause to be unsatisfied, and displeased with the Earl of *Northumberland*;

*berland*; whom he thought he had obliged above any Man whatsoever. His delivering the Fleet into the hands and Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, after his Majesty had expressly refused it to the Parliament, the King could not easily forgive; however he thought it not Then seasonable to resent it, because he had nothing to object against him, but his compliance with the Command of the Parliament, who would have owned it as their own quarrel; and must have obliged that Earl to put his whole Interest into Their hands, and to have run Their Fortune; to which he was naturally too much inclined: And then his Majesty foresaw, that there would have been no Fleet at all set out that year, by their having the Command of all the Money, which was to be applied to that Service. Whereas, by his Majesty's concealing his resentment, there was a good Fleet made ready, and set out; and many Gentlemen settled in the Command of Ships, of whose Affection and Fidelity his Majesty was assured, that no Superior Officer could corrupt it; but that they would, at all times, repair to their Service, whenever he required it. And, indeed, his Majesty had an opinion of the devotion of the whole body of the Common Sea-men to his Service, because he had, bountifully, so much mended their condition, and increased their Pay, that he thought they would have even thrown the Earl of *Warwick* over Board, when he should Command them; and so the respiting the doing of it would be of little importance. But now, that a Ship of his own, in the execution of his Commands, should be chased

BOOK V. by his own Fleet as an Enemy, made such a noise in all places, even to his reproach and dishonor, that he could no longer defer the doing what he had so long thought of. He resolved therefore, to revoke the Earl of *Northumberland's* Commission of the Office of High-Admiral of *England*, and to send the Revocation to him under the Great Seal of *England*: Then, to send Sir *John Pennington*, who was then at *York*, on board the Fleet, and to take the Charge of it: and Letters were prepared, and signed by the King, to every one of the Captains; whereby they were required, "to observe the "Orders of Sir *John Pennington*." And all this was carried with all possible Secrecy, that none, but those few who were trusted, knew, or suspected any such Alteration.

But the King thought fit, first to advise with Sir *John Pennington*; of whose Integrity he was confident, and whose judgment he always principally relied on in all his Maritime Actions; and thought him the only Person fit immediately to take the Fleet out of the Earl of *Warwick's* possession; who had dispossessed Him the Command that year, which he had usually exercised. Sir *John Pennington*, finding the matter full of difficulty, and the execution like to meet with some interruptions, expressed no alacrity to undertake it in his own Person; alledging, "that himself stood in the Parliament's disfavor, "and jealousy (which was true) and that therefore "his motion, and journey toward the *Downs*, where "the Fleet then lay, would be immediately taken "notice of; and his Majesty's Design be so much

“ guessed at, that there would need no other Disco-  
 “ very;” but he propounded to his Majesty, “ that  
 “ he would send a Letter to Sir *Robert Mansel*, who  
 “ lived at *Greenwich*, speedily to go to the Fleet,  
 “ and to take charge of it, and that His Authority,  
 “ being Vice-Admiral of *England*, and his known  
 “ and great Reputation with the Sea-men, would  
 “ be like to meet with the least resistance.” His  
 Majesty, imparting this Counsel to those whom he  
 had made Privy to his purpose, entered upon new  
 considerations; and concluded, “ that Sir *Robert*  
 “ *Mansel*’s age (though his Courage and Integrity  
 “ were unquestionable) and the accidents that de-  
 “ pended upon that, would render that Expedient  
 “ most hazardous; and that, in truth, there needed  
 “ no such absolute and supreme Officer, to be ap-  
 “ pointed in the first Article; but rather, that his  
 “ Majesty should direct his special Letter to the  
 “ Captain of every Ship, requiring him immediately  
 “ to weigh Anchor, and to bring away his Ship to  
 “ such a place as his Majesty might appoint, where  
 “ he should receive further Orders: And to that  
 “ place he might send such an Officer, as he thought  
 “ fit to trust with the Command of the whole Navy  
 “ so assembled.” According to this Resolution, the  
 whole Despatch was prepared. First a Revocation  
 of the Earl of *Northumberland*’s Commission of Ad-  
 miral, under the Great Seal of *England*; of which  
 there was a Duplicate; the one to be sent to his Lord-  
 ship; the other to the Earl of *Warwick*; whose Com-  
 mission was founded upon, and so determined by,  
 the other. Then a particular Letter to each of the



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v. Captains of his Ships, informing them “of his Majesty’s Revocation of the Admiral’s Patent, and, “consequently, of the determination of the Earl of “*Warwick’s Commission*” (to whom his Majesty likewise writ, to “inhibit him from further meddling “in that Charge)” and therefore commanding them to yield no further obedience to either of their Orders; but that, immediately upon the receipt of those his Royal Letters, he should weigh Anchor; and with what speed he might, repair to *Burlington-Bay* upon the Coast of *Yorkshire*; where he should receive his Majesty’s further pleasure: And so each Commander, without relation to any other Commands, had no more to look after but his own Ship, and his own Duty, by which the King might expect, at least, so many Ships as were under the Command of those who had any Affection or Fidelity to his Service.

Accordingly, all things being prepared, and signed by the King and sealed, what immediately concerned the Earl of *Northumberland* was delivered to one of his Majesty’s Pages, to be given to the Earl of *Northumberland* at *London*; and the whole despatch to the Fleet to Mr. *Edward Villiers*, whose diligence and dexterity his Majesty found fit for any Trust; the former being directed “not to make such haste, “but that the other might be at least as soon at the “*Downs*, as He at *London*,” and Mr. *Villiers* again being appointed what Letters he should first deliver to the Captains; “and that he should Visit the Earl “of *Warwick* in the last place;” that his Activity might have no influence upon the Seamen to prevent

their obedience to his Majesty. And surely if this resolution had been pursued, it is very probable, that the King had been Master of very many of his Ships again. But, when the Messengers were despatched, and well instructed, and he that was for *London* gone on his Journey, there was a sudden and unexpected change of the whole direction to the Fleet, by Sir *John Pennington's* repair to his Majesty; and, upon second thoughts, offering "to go Himself to the *Downs*, and to take Charge of the Fleet;" which changed the Forms of the Letters to the several Captains; and, instead of leaving every one to use his best expedition to bring away his own Ship to *Burlington*, "required them only to observe such Orders, as they should receive by Sir *John Pennington*;" who thought not fit (for the reasons formerly given of his being taken notice of) to go with Mr. *Villiers*; but, by Him, writ to Sir *Henry Palmer*, to whom likewise his Majesty sent a Letter to that purpose, being an Officer of the Navy, and who lived by the *Downs*, "immediately to go aboard the Admiral; and that he Himself would make all possible haste to him, setting out at the same time with Mr. *Villiers*; but Journeying a further and more private way." Mr. *Villiers*, left, by his stay for the alteration of his despatches, the Page's coming to *London* sooner than was intended at his setting out, might produce some inconvenience to the service, slept not till he came to Sir *Henry Palmer*; who, being infirm in his health, and surprised with the Command, could not make that expedition aboard, as might have been requisite; though he

B O O K was Loyally and Zealously affected to his Majesty's  
 v. Service. However, Mr. *Villiers* hastened to the Ships which lay then at Anchor, and according to his Instructions, delivered his several Letters to the Captains; the greatest part whereof received them with great expressions of duty and submission, expecting only to receive Sir *John Pennington's* Orders, for which they staid; and, without doubt, if either the first Letters had been sent, or Sir *John Pennington* been present, when these others were delivered, his Majesty had been possessed of the greatest part of the Fleet; the Earl of *Warwick* being at that time, according to his usual Licences, with some Officers, whose company he liked, on shore making merry; so that there was only his Vice-Admiral, Captain *Batten*, on board; who was of eminent disaffection to his Majesty: The Rear-Admiral, Sir *John Mennes*, being of unquestionable Integrity.

But after five or six hours (in which time nothing could be acted, for want of advice and direction; enough being ready to Obey, but none having Authority to Command) the Earl of *Warwick* came aboard his Ship, to whom Mr. *Villiers* likewise gave his Majesty's Letters of his Discharge; who, without any Declaration of disobeying it, applied himself to the confirming those whom he thought true to his Party, and diligently to watch the rest; presuming, that he should speedily hear from those by whom he had been originally trusted.

In the mean time, the Captains expected Orders from Sir *John Pennington*; who likewise privately expected such an account from Sir *Henry Palmer*, as

might encourage him to come to the Ships. But this unfortunate delay disappointed all: For the other Gentleman, according to his Instructions, having reached *London* in the evening after the Houses were risen, delivered the King's Letter, and the Discharge of his Commission, to the Earl of *Northumberland*; who, with all shows of Duty and Submission, expressed "his resolution to obey his Majesty; and a hearty sorrow, that he had, by any Misfortune, incurred his Majesty's displeasure." How ingenuous soever this demeanour of his Lordship's was, the business was quickly known to those who were more concerned in it; who were exceedingly perplexed, with the apprehension of being dispossessed of so great a part of their strength, as the Royal Fleet; and earnestly pressed the Earl of *Northumberland*, "that, notwithstanding such his Majesty's Revocation, he would still continue the execution of his Office of Lord High Admiral; in which they would assist him with their utmost and full Power, and Authority. But his Lordship alledging, that it would ill become Him, who had received that Charge from the King with so notable circumstances of Trust and Favor, to continue the possession thereof against his express Pleasure, there being a Clause in his Grant, that it should be only during such time as his Majesty thought fit to use his Service;" and so, "utterly refusing to meddle further in it;" as soon as they could get the Houses together the next morning, they easily agreed to pass an Ordinance, as they call it, "to appoint the Earl of *Warwick* to be Admiral of that Fleet, with

The King  
revokes the  
Earl of Nor-  
thumberland's  
Commission of  
Admiral.



BOOK V. “ as full and ample Authority, as he had before had  
 “ from the Earl of *Northumberland* ” Which Ordinance, together with Letters, and Votes of encouragement to his Lordship and to the Officers and Seamen, they speedily sent, by a Member of their own; who arrived therewith, the next morning, after Mr. *Villiers* had delivered the King's Letters; Sir *John Pennington* in the mean time neither coming, nor sending any further Advice.

The Earl of *Warwick*, being thus armed, found himself Master of his Work; and immediately summoned all the Captains, to attend him on board his Ship in Council; the which all but two did (Captain *Slingby*, and Captain *Wake*) who, being by his Majesty's Letters, as the rest were, expressly charged to yield no further obedience to the Earl of *Warwick*, refused to repair to him; making themselves ready to resist any violence, and putting their Ships in order to go out to Sea, that they might be at Liberty to attend his Majesty's Commands; but they were so encompassed by the whole Fleet, and the dexterity of the Earl's Ministers was such, and the devotion, generally, of the Sea-men so tainted, and corrupted from the King's Service, that, instead of carrying away the Ships, the Captains themselves were seized, taken, and carried by their own Men to the Earl; who immediately committed them to Custody, and sent them up Prisoners to the Parliament. Then the Earl communicated the Ordinance, Letters, and Votes from the two Houses, to the rest of the Officers; of whom only two more refused to continue their Charge against the signification, they had received from the King (Sir *John Alennes*, and Captain *Burly*)

who were quickly discharged and set on shore; and the rest, without any scruple or hesitation, “obliged themselves to obey the Earl of *Warwick*, in the “Service of the Parliament;” so that the Storm was now over, and the Parliament fully, and entirely possessed of the whole Royal Navy, and Militia by Sea; for they quickly disposed of two other honest Captains, *Kettleby*, and *Stradlin* (whom they could not corrupt) who guarded the *Irish* Seas; and got those Ships likewise into their Service. And thus his Majesty was without one Ship of his own, in his three Kingdoms, at his Devotion.

As this loss of the whole Navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the King’s Affairs, and made his condition much the less considered by his Allies, and Neighbour-Princes; who saw the Sovereignty of the Sea now in other hands, that were like to be more imperious upon the apprehension of any discourtesies, than regular and lawful Monarchs use to be; I cannot but observe some unhappy circumstances, and accidents in this important business of the Navy, which looked like the hand of Providence to take that strength, of which his Majesty was most confident, out of his hands. When the resolution of the House of Commons, and the concurrence of the Lords was peremptory, and the Earl of *Northumberland* had declared his compliance with them, “for the sending the Earl of *Warwick* Admiral “of that Fleet, in the place of Sir *John Pennington*, “upon whom the King depended;” it was resolved likewise by them, “that Captain *Carteret*, Controller of his Majesty’s Navy, a Man of great “eminence, and reputation in Naval Command,

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V.

"should be Vice-Admiral;" who thinking it became his near relation to his Majesty's Service, to receive his Royal pleasure before he engaged himself in any employment of that Nature, addrested himself for his directions. But the King, looking upon the Fleet in a manner taken from him, when another, whose disaffection to his Service was very notorious, was, contrary to his express pleasure, presumptuously put into the Command of it, and his own Minister displaced for no other reason (his sufficiency, and ability for command being by all Men confessed) but his Zeal and Integrity to Him, would not countenance that Fleet, and that Admiral, with suffering an Officer of his own to Command in it under the other; and therefore ordered Captain *Carteret* to decline the employment; which he, prudently and without noise, did; and thereupon, another Officer of the Navy, the Surveyor General, Captain *Batten*, a Man of very different inclinations to his Master, and his Service, and furious in the new fancies of Religion, was substituted in the place: Whereas if Captain *Carteret* had been suffered to have taken that Charge, His interest and reputation in the Navy was so great, and his diligence and dexterity in Command so eminent, that it was generally believed, he would, against whatsoever the Earl of *Warwick* could have done, have preserved a Major part of the Fleet in their duty to the King. The misfortunes which happened, and are mentioned before, are not injustice to be imputed to Sir *John Pennington*; who, sure, was a very honest Gentleman, and of unshaken Faithfulness and Integrity to the King; but to the

little time he had to think of it : And the perplexity he was in ( besides his true Zeal to the Service ) to consider that so great a work , as the recovery of the Royal Navy , was to be done by his own Personal engagement , made him look so little to his own security , that , instead of taking the Fleet from the Earl of *Warwick* , he was Himself taken by the Earl , and sent to the Parliament ; where the carrying over the Lord *Digby* , and some other Jealousies , had left a great arrear of displeasure against him.

The truth is , the King was so confident upon the general Affections of the Sea-men , who were a Tribe of People more particularly countenanced and obliged by him , than other Men , his Majesty having increased their allowance , in Provision and Money , above the old establishment of the Navy , as hath been mentioned ; that he did believe no Activity of ill Officers could have corrupted them ; but that , when the Parliament had set out and victualled the Fleet , it would , upon any occasion , declare itself at his devotion. But , on the other side , they had been taught to believe , that all the King's bounty , and grace towards them , had flowed from the mediation of those Officers , who were now engaged against the King ; and that , the Parliament having seized the Customs , and all other the Revenues of the Crown , they had no other hope of Pay or Subsistence , but by absolutely devoting themselves to their Service : so that a greater , or more general defection of any one Order of Men was never known , than that , at this time , of the Sea-men ; though many Gentlemen , and some few of the Common sort , to their lasting



1003 Honor and Reputation, either addrested themselves  
 v. to the Active Service of their Sovereign, or suffered  
 Imprisonment, and the loss of all they had, for refusing  
 to serve against him

The News of this diminution of his Majesty's power, and terrible addition of strength to his Enemies, was a great allay to the brisk hopes at York, upon the arrival of their Ammunition, and wise Men easily discerned the fatal consequence of it in opposition to the King's most hopeful designs; yet, in a very short time, all visible sense of it so much vanished, that (as there was a marvellous a'cridity, at that time, in despising all advantages of the Parliament) some Men publicly, and with great confidence, averred, " that the King was a Gainer by the loss  
 " of his Fleet: because he had no Money to pay the  
 " Seamen, or keep them together; and that one Vic-  
 " tory at Land, of which there was no doubt, would  
 " restore him to his Dominion at Sea, and to what-  
 " soever had been unjustly taken from his Majesty."

The King found it was now time to do more than write Declarations, when the Parliament was now entirely possessed of the Militia by Sea, and made such a progress in the attempt to obtain the same at Land, though the People generally (except in great Towns and Corporations, where, besides the natural Malignity, the factious Lecturers, and Emissaries from the Parliament, had poisoned their affections) and especially those of Quality, were Loyally inclined; yet, the terror of the House of Commons was so great, which sent for and grievously punished those Sheriffs and Mayors, who published, according to their Duties and express

Oaths, his Majesty's Proclamation, and those Ministers, who, according to his Injunctions, read and divulged his Declarations, that all such, and, indeed, all others eminently affected to the King, were forced to fly to *York* for Protection; or to hide themselves in Corners from that Inquisition, which was made for them. And therefore his Majesty, in the first place, that he might have one Harbour to resort to in his Kingdom, sent the Earl of *New-Castle*, privately, with a Commission to take the Government of *New-Castle*; who against the little opposition, that was prepared by the Schismatical party in the Town, by his Lordship's great Interest in those parts, the ready compliance of the best of the Gentry, and the general good Inclinations of the place, speedily and dextrously assured that most important rich Town, and Harbour to the King; which, if it had been omitted but very few days, had been seized on by the Parliament; who had then given direction to that purpose. Then for the Protection of the general parts of the Kingdom, and keeping up their affections, his Majesty appointed and sent many of the nobility and prime Gentlemen of the several Counties, who attended him, into their respective Counties to execute the Commission of Array; making the Marquis of *Hertford*, by Commission under the Great Seal of *England* (which he was to keep secret in reserve, till he found, either by the growth, or extraordinary practice of the Parliament in raising Forces, that the Commission of Array was not enough) "his Lieutenant General of all the Western Parts of the Kingdom, with

BOOK V. " power to Levy such a Body of Horse and Foot,  
 " as he found necessary for his Majesty's Service,  
 " and the containing the People within the Limits  
 " of their Duty." With the Marquis went the Earl  
 of *Bath* (thought then to be in notable power and  
 interest in *Devonshire*) the Lord *Pawlet*, the Lord  
*Seymour*, Sir *Ralph Hopton*, Sir *John Berkley*, Sir  
*Hugh Pollard*, and others, very good Officers, to  
 form an Array if it should be found expedient. And  
 so, much of the lustre of the Court being abated  
 by the remove of so many Persons of Honor and  
 Quality, the King began to think of increasing, and  
 forming his Train into a more useful posture, than  
 it was yet; and, without any noise of raising an  
 Army, to make the Scene of his first Action to be  
 the recovery of *Hull*, (whither new forces were  
 sent from *London*) by the ordinary Forces and  
 Trained-bands of that Country; by color whereof,  
 he hoped to have such resort, that he should need  
 no other industry to raise such an Army, as should  
 be sufficient to preserve himself from the violence,  
 which threatened his safety; and accordingly, that  
 the People might fully understand his Intentions,  
 he summoned some of the Trained-bands to attend  
 him at *Beverly*, a Town within four Miles of *Hull*,  
 whither he removed his Court, and published a  
 Proclamation, briefly containing " the Rebellion  
 " of Sir *John Hotham*, in holding that Town by a  
 " Garrison against him; his demanding Justice from  
 " the two Houses without effect; the seizing his  
 " Fleet at Sea; and the hostile Acts of Sir *John*  
 " *Hotham* upon the Inhabitants of that Town, many

The King's  
 Proclamation  
 from Beverly.

“ of whom he turned out of their Habitations; and  
 “ upon the Neighbour-Country, by imprisoning  
 “ many, and driving others for fear from their  
 “ Houses: And therefore that he was resolved to  
 “ reduce the same by Force; inhibiting all Com-  
 “ merce or Traffic with the said Town, whilst  
 “ it continued in Rebellion.”

Which Proclamation he likewise sent to both Houses of Parliament, with this further signification,  
 “ That, before he would use force to reduce that  
 “ place to it's due Obedience, he had thought fit,  
 “ once more, to require them, that it might be  
 “ forthwith delivered to him; wherein if they should  
 “ conform themselves, his Majesty would be then  
 “ willing to admit such Addresses from them, and  
 “ return such Propositions to them, as might be  
 “ proper to settle the Peace of the Kingdom, and  
 “ compose the present Distractions. He wished them  
 “ to do their Duty, and to be assured from Him,  
 “ on the word of a King, that nothing should be  
 “ wanting on His part, that might prevent the  
 “ Calamities which threatened the Nation, and  
 “ might render his People truly happy, but if that  
 “ his gracious Invitation should be declined, God  
 “ and all good Men must judge between them:”  
 And assigned a Day, by which he would expect their Answer at *Beverly*.

In the mean time, to encourage the good Affections of *Nottinhamshire*, which seemed almost entirely to be devoted to his Service; and to countenance and give some Life to his friends in *Lincolnshire*, where, in Contempt of his Proclamation,



**B O O K** the Ordinance of the Militia had been boldly executed by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and some Members of the House of Commons, his Majesty took a short Progress to *Newark*; and, after a day's stay, from thence to *Lincoln*; and so, by the day appointed, returned to *Beverly*; having, in both those places, been attended with such an Appearance of the Gentlemen, and Men of Quality, and so full a Concourse of the People, as one might reasonably have guessed the Affections of both those Counties would have seconded any just, and regular Service for the King.

They at *London* were not less Active; but, upon their Success in the business of the Navy, proceeded to make themselves strong enough, at least, to keep what they had; and therefore, having, by their Ordinance of the Militia, many voluntary Companies formed of Men according to their own hearts; and, by their Subscriptions, being supplied with a good Stock of Money, and a good number of Horse; before the King's Message from *Beverly* came to them, on the twelfth of *July*, being the same day the Message went from the King, both Houses Voted, and Declared,

The Votes of  
both Houses  
for raising  
an Army.

“ That an Army should be forthwith raised for the  
“ Safety of the King's Person; Defence of both  
“ Houses of Parliament, and of those, who had  
“ obeyed their Orders, and Commands; and prefer-  
“ ving of the true Religion, the Laws, Liberty, and  
“ Peace of the Kingdom. That the Earl of *Essex*  
“ should be their General, and that they would Live  
“ and Die with him.” And, having put themselves  
into this posture of Treating, the same day they  
agreed

agreed that a Petition should be framed, "to move the King to a good accord with the Parliament, to prevent a Civil War; the which was purposely then consented to, that the People might believe, the talk of an Army and a General, was only to draw the King to the more reasonable Concessions. And it is certain, the first was consented to by many, especially of the House of Peers (in hope the better to compass the other) with the perfect horror of the thought of a War. Though the King's Message came to them before their own was despatched, yet, without the least notice taken of it, and lest the contents, of their Petition might be known before the arrival of their own Messengers, the Earl of *Holland*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, being the Committee appointed for the same, made a speedy and quick Journey for *Beverly*; and arrived, in the same minute that the King came thither from *Lincoln*: So that his Majesty no sooner heard of the raising an Army, and declaring a General against him, but he was encountered with the Messengers for Peace; who reported to all whom they met, and with whom they conversed, "That they had brought so absolute a Submission from the Parliament to the King, that there could be no doubt of a firm and happy Peace:" And when the Earl of *Holland* presented the Petition, he first made a short Speech to the King; in telling him, "That the glorious Motto of his Blessed Father, King *James*, was *Beati Pacifici*, which he hoped his Majesty would continue; that they presented him with the Humble Duty of his two Houses of Parliament, who desired nothing from him but his

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“ consent, and acceptance of Peace; they aiming  
“ at nothing but his Majesty’s Honor, and Happi-  
“ nefs:” And then read their Message aloud, in  
these words: -

*To the King’s most Excellent Majesty; The humble  
Petition of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament.*

The Parlia-  
ment’s Peti-  
tion to the  
King at Be-  
verly. July 15,  
1642.

“ May it please your Majesty:

“ Although We, your Majesty’s most humble and  
“ faithful Subjects, the Lords and Commons in Par-  
“ liament assembled, have been very unhappy in  
“ many former Petitions, and Supplications to your  
“ Majesty; wherein we have represented our most  
“ devout Affections in advising, and desiring those  
“ things, which we held most necessary for the pre-  
“ servation of God’s true Religion; your Majesty’s  
“ Safety, and Honor; and the Peace of the King-  
“ dom: And, with much sorrow, do perceive that  
“ your Majesty, incensed by many false Calumnies  
“ and Slanders, doth continue to raise Forces against  
“ Us, and your other peaceable and Loyal Subjects;  
“ and to make great Preparations for War, both in  
“ the Kingdom, and from beyond the Seas; and, by  
“ Arms and Violence, to over rule the judgment and  
“ advice of your Great Council; and by force to  
“ determine the Questions there depending, con-  
“ cerning the Government and Liberty of the King-  
“ dom: Yet, such is our earnest desire of discharg-  
“ ing our Duty to your Majesty and the Kingdom,  
“ to preserve the Peace thereof, and to prevent the  
“ Ruines of Civil War amongst your Subjects;

“ that, notwithstanding we hold ourselves bound B O O K  
“ to use all the means and power, which, by the V.  
“ Laws and Constitutions of this Kingdom, we are  
“ trusted with for Defence, and Protection thereof,  
“ and of the Subjects from Force and Violence: We  
“ do, in this our Humble and Loyal Petition, pro-  
“ strate ourselves at your Majesty’s feet; beseeching  
“ your Royal Majesty, that you will be pleased to  
“ forbear and remove all Preparations and Actions of  
“ War; particularly the Forces from about *Hull*,  
“ from *New-Castle*, *Tinmouth*, *Lincoln*, and *Lincoln-*  
“ *shire*; and all other places. And that your Majesty  
“ will recall the Commissions of Array, which are  
“ illegal; dismiss Troops, and extraordinary Guards  
“ by you raised: That your Majesty will come  
“ nearer to your Parliament, and hearken to their  
“ faithful Advice and humble Petitions; which shall  
“ only tend to the defence, and advancement of Re-  
“ ligion; your own Royal Honor, and Safety; and  
“ the preservation of our Laws and Liberties. And  
“ we have been, and ever shall be, careful to prevent  
“ and punish all Tumults, and seditious Actions,  
“ Speeches, and Writings, which may give your  
“ Majesty just cause of distaste, or apprehension of  
“ danger. From which public Aims and Resolu-  
“ tions, no sinister or private respect shall ever  
“ make us to Decline. That your Majesty will leave  
“ Delinquents to the due course of Justice; and that  
“ nothing done, or spoken in Parliament, or by  
“ any Person, in pursuance of the Command and  
“ Direction of both Houses of Parliament, be ques-  
“ tioned any where but in Parliament.



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“ And We, for Our parts, shall be ready to lay  
 “ down all those Preparations, which we have been  
 “ forced to make for our defence. And for the Town  
 “ of *Hull*, and the Ordinance concerning the Mi-  
 “ litia, as we have, in both these Particulars only  
 “ fought the preservation of the Peace of the King-  
 “ dom; and the defence of the Parliament from  
 “ force and violence: so We shall most willingly  
 “ leave the Town of *Hull* in the state it was, before  
 “ Sir *John Hotham* drew any Forces into it; deli-  
 “ vering your Majesty’s Magazine into the Tower  
 “ of *London*, and supplying whatsoever hath been  
 “ disposed by us for the Service of the Kingdom.  
 “ We shall be ready to settle the Militia by a Bill,  
 “ in such a way as shall be honorable, and safe for  
 “ your Majesty; most agreeable to the Duty of Par-  
 “ liament, and effectual for the Good of the King-  
 “ dom; that the strength thereof be not employed  
 “ against itself, and that which ought to be for our  
 “ Security, applied to our Destruction; and that  
 “ the Parliament, and those who profess, and desire  
 “ still to preserve the Protestant Religion, both in  
 “ this Realm, and in *Ireland*, may not be left naked,  
 “ and indefensible to the mischievous Designs, and  
 “ cruel Attempts of those, who are the professed,  
 “ and confederated Enemies thereof in your Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Dominions, and other neighbour Nations.  
 “ To which if your Majesty’s Courses and Counsels  
 “ shall from henceforth concur, We doubt not but  
 “ We shall quickly make it appear to the world, by  
 “ the most eminent effects of Love and Duty, that  
 “ your Majesty’s Personal Safety, your Royal Ho-

“ nor, and Greatness, are much dearer to us than  
 “ our own Lives and Fortunes; which We do most  
 “ heartily dedicate, and shall most willingly employ  
 “ for the support, and maintenance thereof.

As soon as this Petition was read by the Earl of  
*Holland*, the King told them “ that the reproaches  
 “ cast upon him by it, were not answerable to the  
 “ Expressions his Lordship had made; and that he  
 “ was sorry that they thought the exposing Him,  
 “ and his Honor to so much scandal, were the way  
 “ to procure, or preserve the Peace of the Kingdom:  
 “ That they should speedily receive his Answer: by  
 “ which the world would easily discern, Who de-  
 “ sired Peace most.” And accordingly, the second  
 day, his Majesty delivered them, in public, his  
 Answer to their Petition, which was likewise read  
 by one of his Servants, in these Words:

*His Majesty's Answer to the Petition of the Lords  
 and Commons assembled in Parliament.*

His Majesty's  
 Answer.

“ Though his Majesty had no great reason to be-  
 “ lieve that the directions sent to the Earl of *War-*  
 “ *wick*, to go to the River *Humber*, with as many  
 “ Ships as he should think fit, for all possible assist-  
 “ ance to Sir *John Hotham* (whilst his Majesty ex-  
 “ pected the giving up of the Town unto him) and  
 “ to carry away such Arms from thence, as his dis-  
 “ cretion thought fit to spare out of his Majesty's  
 “ own Magazine: The chusing a General by both  
 “ Houses of Parliament, for the defence of those  
 “ who have obeyed their Orders and Commands,  
 “ be they never so extravagant, and illegal: Their

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“ Declaration, that, in that case, they would live  
 “ and die with the Earl of *Essex* their General (all  
 “ which were Voted the same day with this Petition)  
 “ And the committing the Lord Major of *London*  
 “ to Prison, for executing his Majesty’s Writs, and  
 “ Lawful Commands; were but ill Prologues to a  
 “ Petition, which might compose the miserable  
 “ Distractions of the Kingdom; yet his Majesty’s  
 “ passionate desire of the Peace of the Kingdom,  
 “ together with the Preface of the Presenters, That  
 “ they had brought a Petition full of duty and sub-  
 “ mission to his Majesty; and which desired nothing  
 “ of him, but his consent to Peace (which his Ma-  
 “ jesty conceived to be the Language of both Houses  
 “ too) begot a greedy hope, and expectation in him,  
 “ that this Petition would have been such an Intro-  
 “ duction to Peace, that it would, at least, have  
 “ satisfied his Message of the eleventh of this Month,  
 “ by delivering up *Hull* unto his Majesty. But, to  
 “ his unspeakable grief his Majesty hath too much  
 “ cause to believe, that the End of some Persons,  
 “ by this Petition, is not in truth to give any real  
 “ satisfaction to his Majesty; but, by the specious  
 “ pretences of making offers to him, to mislead and  
 “ seduce his people, and lay some imputation upon  
 “ him of denying what is fit to be granted; other-  
 “ wise, it would not have thrown those unjust re-  
 “ proaches, and scandals upon his Majesty, for ma-  
 “ king a necessary and just defence for his own safety;  
 “ and so peremptorily justified such Actions against  
 “ him, as by no rule of Law or Justice can admit  
 “ the least color of defence: And, after so many

“ free and unlimited Acts of Grace passed by his  
 “ Majesty without any condition, have proposed  
 “ such things which, in justice, cannot be denied  
 “ unto him, upon such conditions as, in honor,  
 “ he cannot grant. However, that all the world  
 “ may see how willing his Majesty would be to  
 “ embrace any overture, that might beget a right  
 “ understanding between Him and his two Houses  
 “ of Parliament (with whom he is sure, he shall  
 “ have no contention, when the private practices,  
 “ and suble insinuations of some few Malignant Per-  
 “ sons shall be discovered; which his Majesty will  
 “ take care shall be speedily done) he hath, with  
 “ great care weighed the Particulars of this Peti-  
 “ tion, and returns this Answer:

“ That the Petitioners were never unhappy in  
 “ their Petitions or Supplications to his Majesty,  
 “ while they desired any thing which was necessary,  
 “ or convenient for the preservation of God's true  
 “ Religion; his Majesty's Safety, and Honor; and  
 “ the Peace of the Kingdom: And therefore, when  
 “ those general envious Foundations are laid, his  
 “ Majesty could with some particular Instances had  
 “ been applied. Let Envy and Malice object one  
 “ particular Proposition for the preservation of God's  
 “ true Religion which his Majesty hath refused to  
 “ consent to; what Himself hath often made, for the  
 “ ease of tender Consciences, and for the advance-  
 “ ment of the Protestant Religion, is notorious by  
 “ many of his Messages and Declarations. What  
 “ regard hath been to his Honor and Safety, when  
 “ he hath been driven from some of his Houses, and



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“ kept from other of his Towns by Force: And  
 “ what care there hath been of the Peace of the King-  
 “ dom, when endeavours have been used to put  
 “ all his Subjects in Arms against him, is so evident,  
 “ that, his Majesty is confident, he cannot suffer  
 “ by those general Imputations. It is enough that  
 “ the world knows what he hath granted, and what  
 “ he hath denied.

“ For his Majesty’s raising Forces, and making  
 “ Preparation for War (whatsoever the Petitioners,  
 “ by the evil Arts of the Enemies to his Majesty’s  
 “ Person and Government, and by the calumnies,  
 “ and slanders raised against his Majesty by them,  
 “ are induced to believe) all Men may know what  
 “ is done that way, is but in order to his own defence.  
 “ Let the Petitioners remember, that (which all the  
 “ world knows) his Majesty was driven from his  
 “ Palace of *White-Hall*, for safety of his Life: That  
 “ both Houses of Parliament, upon their own Au-  
 “ thority, raised a Guard to themselves (having  
 “ gotten the Command of all the Trained-bands of  
 “ *London* to that purpose) without the least color,  
 “ or shadow of danger: That they usurped a power,  
 “ by their pretended Ordinance, against all Princi-  
 “ ples and Elements of Law, over the whole Militia  
 “ of the Kingdom, without, and against his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s consent: That they took possession of his  
 “ Town, Fort, and Magazine of *Hull*, and com-  
 “ mitted the same to Sir *John Hotham*; who shut the  
 “ Gates against his Majesty, and, by Force of Arms,  
 “ denied entrance thither to his own Person: That  
 “ they justified this Act which they had not directed;

“ and took Sir *John Hotham* into their protection for  
“ whatsoever he had done, or should do, against  
“ his Majesty. And all this, whilst his Majesty had  
“ no other attendance than his own Menial Servants.  
“ Upon this, the Duty, and Affection of this  
“ County, prompted his Subjects here to provide a  
“ small Guard for his own Person; which was no  
“ sooner done, but a Vote suddenly passed of his  
“ Majesty’s intention to levy War against his Par-  
“ liament (which, God knows, his heart abhorreth)  
“ and notwithstanding all his Majesty’s Professions,  
“ Declarations, and Protestations to the contrary,  
“ seconded by the clear Testimony of so great a  
“ Number of Peers upon the place, Propositions  
“ and Orders for Levies of Men, Horse, and Arms,  
“ were sent throughout the Kingdom; Plate and  
“ Money brought in, and received; Horse and Men  
“ raised towards an Army, Mustered, and under  
“ Command; and all this contrary to the Law, and  
“ to his Majesty’s Proclamation: And a Declaration  
“ published, that if he should use Force for the re-  
“ covery of *Hull*, or suppressing the pretended  
“ Ordinance for the Militia, it should be held levy-  
“ ing War against the Parliament: And all this done,  
“ before his Majesty granted any Commission for  
“ the levying, or raising a Man. His Majesty’s  
“ Ships were taken from him, and committed to  
“ the custody of the Earl of *Warwick*; who presumes,  
“ under that power, to usurp to himself the Sover-  
“ eignty of the Sea, to chase, fright, and imprison  
“ such of his Majesty’s good Subjects, as desire to  
“ obey his Lawful Commands; although he had

B O O K “ notice of the legal Revocation of the Earl of Nor-  
 V. “ *thumberlands* Commission of Admiral, whereby  
 “ all power derived from that Commission ceased.  
 “ Let all the world now judge who begun this  
 “ War, and upon whose account the miseries, which  
 “ may follow, must be cast; what his Majesty could  
 “ have done less than he hath done; and whether  
 “ he were not compelled to make provision, both  
 “ for the defence of himself and recovery of what is  
 “ so violently, and injuriously taken from him; and  
 “ whether these injuries, and indignities, are not  
 “ just grounds for his Majesty’s fears and apprehen-  
 “ sions of further mischief, and danger to him.  
 “ Whence the fears and jealousies of the Petitioners  
 “ have proceeded, hath never been discovered; the  
 “ dangers they have brought upon his Subjects are  
 “ too evident; what those are they have prevented,  
 “ no Man knows. And therefore his Majesty cannot  
 “ but look upon that Charge as the boldest, and the  
 “ most scandalous, hath been yet laid upon him;  
 “ That this necessary provision, made for his own  
 “ safety and defence, is to over-rule the Judgment,  
 “ and Advice of his Great Council; and by force  
 “ to determine the Questions there depending, con-  
 “ cerning the Government and Liberty of the King-  
 “ dom. If no other force had been raised to deter-  
 “ mine those Questions, than by his Majesty, this  
 “ unhappy misunderstanding had not been: And his  
 “ Majesty no longer desires the blessing, and pro-  
 “ tection of Almighty God upon Himself and his  
 “ Posterity, than He, and They, shall solemnly  
 “ observe the due execution of the Laws, in the

“ defence of Parliaments, and the just Freedom thereof.

“ For the Forces about *Hull*, his Majesty will remove them, when he hath obtained the land for which they were brought thither. When *Hull* shall be again reduced to his subjection, he will no longer have an Army before it. And when he shall be assured, that the same Necessity and pretence of Public Good, which took *Hull* from him, may not put a Garrison into *New-Castle* to keep the same against him, he will remove His from thence, and from *Tinmouth*; till when, the example of *Hull* will not out of his memory.

“ For the Commissions of Array, which are legal, and are so proved by a Declaration now in the Press, his Majesty wonders why they should, at this time, be thought grievous, and fit to be recalled; if the fears of Invasion and Rebellion be so great, that, by an illegal pretended Ordinance, it is necessary to put his Subjects into a posture of defence, to Array, Train, and Muster them, he knows not why the same should not be done in a regular, known, lawful way. But if, in the execution of that Commission, any thing shall be unlawfully imposed upon his good Subjects, his Majesty will take all just, and necessary care for their redress.

“ For his Majesty's coming nearer to his Parliament, his Majesty hath expressed himself so fully in his several Messages, Answers, and Declarations; and so particularly avowed a real fear of his safety, upon such instances as cannot be Answered,



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“ that he hath reason to take himself somewhat neglected, That, since upon so manifest reasons it is not safe for his Majesty to come to them, both his Houses of Parliament will not come nearer to his Majesty; or to such a place where the freedom, and dignity of Parliament might be preserved. However, his Majesty shall be very glad to hear of some such example in their punishing the Tumults ( which he knows not how to expect, when they have declared. That they knew not of any Tumults; though the House of Peers desired, both for the Freedom and dignity of Parliament, that the House of Commons would join with them in a Declaration against Tumults; which they refused, that is, neglected to do ) and other seditious Actions, Speeches, and Writings, as may take that apprehension of danger from him, though, when he remembers the particular complaints Himself hath made of businessses of that nature, and that, instead of inquiring out the Authors, neglect of examination hath been, when offer hath been made to both Houses to produce the Authors; as in that Treasonable Paper concerning the Militia: And when he sees every day Pamphlets published against his Crown, and against Monarchy itself; as the Observations upon his late Messages, Declarations, and Expresses; and some Declarations of their own, which give too great encouragement, in that Argument, to ill Affected Persons; his Majesty cannot, with confidence, entertain those Hopes which would be most welcome to him.

“ For the leaving Delinquents to the due course of  
“ Justice, his Majesty is most assured there hath been  
“ no shelter to any such. If the tediousness and delay  
“ in prosecution, the vast charge in Officers fees,  
“ the keeping Men under a General accusation,  
“ without Trial, a whole year and more, and so al-  
“ lowing them no way for their defence and vindic-  
“ cation, hath frightened Men away from so charge-  
“ able and uncertain attendance, the Remedy is  
“ best provided, where the Disease grew. If the  
“ Law be the measure of Delinquency, none Such  
“ are within his Majesty's Protection: But if by De-  
“ linquents such are understood, who are made so  
“ by Vote, without any Trespass upon any known,  
“ or established Law: If by Delinquents those nine  
“ Lords are understood, who are made Delinquents  
“ for obeying his Majesty's Summons to come to  
“ him, after their stay there was neither safe, nor  
“ honorable, by reason of the Tumults, and other  
“ Violences; and whose Impeachment, he is confi-  
“ dent, is the greatest breach of Privilege, that,  
“ before this Parliament, was ever offered to the  
“ House of Peers: If by Delinquents such are under-  
“ stood, who refuse to submit to the pretended Or-  
“ dinance of the Militia; to that of the Navy; or to  
“ any other, which his Majesty hath not consented  
“ to; such who for the Peace of the Kingdom, in  
“ a humble manner, prepare Petitions to Him, or  
“ to both Houses, as his good Subjects of *London*  
“ and *Kent* did; whilst seditious ones, as that of  
“ *Essex*, and other places, are allowed, and Che-  
“ rished: If by Delinquents such are understood,

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“ who are called so for publishing his Proclamations,  
 “ as the Lord Mayor of *London*; or for reading his  
 “ Messages and Declarations, as divers Ministers  
 “ about *London* and elsewhere; when those against  
 “ him are dispersed with all care and industry, to  
 “ poison and corrupt the Loyalty and Affection of  
 “ his People: If by Delinquents such are understood,  
 “ who have, or shall lend his Majesty Money, in  
 “ the Universities, or in any other places: His Ma-  
 “ jesty declares to all the world, That he will protect  
 “ Such with his utmost power and strength; and  
 “ directs, that, in these cases, they submit not to  
 “ any Messengers, or Warrant; it being no less his  
 “ Duty to Protect those who are Innocent, than to  
 “ bring the Guilty to condign Punishment; of both  
 “ which the Law is to be judge. And if both Houses  
 “ do think fit to make a General, and to raise an  
 “ Army for defence of those who obey their Orders,  
 “ and Commands, his Majesty must not sit still,  
 “ and suffer such who submit to his just power, and  
 “ are solicitous for the Laws of the Land, to perish,  
 “ and be undone, because they are called Delin-  
 “ quents: And when They shall take upon them to  
 “ dispense with the attendance of those who are cal-  
 “ led by his Majesty's Writ, whilst they send them  
 “ to Sea, to rob his Majesty of his Ships; or into  
 “ the several Counties, to put his Subjects in Arms  
 “ against him, his Majesty (who Only hath it) will  
 “ not lose the power to dispense with them to attend  
 “ his own Person; or to execute such Offices, as  
 “ are necessary for the preservation of Himself, and  
 “ the Kingdom; but must protect them, though they  
 “ are called Delinquents.

“ For the Manner of the proceeding against B O O K  
“ Delinquents, his Majesty will proceed against V.  
“ those who have no Privilege of Parliament, or  
“ in such cases where no Privilege is to be allowed,  
“ as he shall be advised by his Learned Council, and  
“ according to the known, and unquestionable  
“ Rules of the Law; it being unreasonable, that  
“ he should be compelled to proceed against those  
“ who have violated the known and undoubted  
“ Law, only before Them who have directed such  
“ violation.

“ Having said thus much to the Particulars of  
“ the Petition, though his Majesty hath reason to  
“ complain, that, since the sending this Petition,  
“ they have beaten their Drums for Soldiers against  
“ him, Armed their own General with a power  
“ destructive to the Law, and Liberty of the Sub-  
“ jects; and chosen a General of their Horse: His  
“ Majesty, out of his Princely love, tenderness,  
“ and compassion of his People, and desire to pre-  
“ serve the Peace of the Kingdom, that the whole  
“ force and strength of it may be united for the  
“ defence of itself, and the relief of *Ireland* (in  
“ whose behalf he conjures both his Houses of  
“ Parliament, as they will answer the contrary to  
“ Almighty God, his Majesty, to those who trust  
“ them, and to that bleeding miserable Kingdom,  
“ that they suffer not any Moneys granted, and  
“ collected by Act of Parliament, to be diverted  
“ or employed against his Majesty; whilst his Sol-  
“ diers in that Kingdom are ready to mutiny, or  
“ perish for want of pay; and the barbarous Rebels



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“ prevail by that encouragement) is graciously  
“ pleased once more, to propose and require.

“ That His Town of *Hull* be immediately delivered  
“ up to him: Which being done (though his Ma-  
“ jesty hath been provoked by unheard of Insolences of Sir *John Hotham's*, since his burning and  
“ drowning the Country, in seizing his Wine, and  
“ other provisions for his House, and scornfully  
“ using his Servant, whom he sent to require them;  
“ saying, it came to him by Providence, and he  
“ will keep it; and so refusing to deliver it, with  
“ threats if He, or any other of his fellow Servants,  
“ should again repair to *Hull* about it; and in taking  
“ and detaining Prisoners, divers Gentlemen, and  
“ others, in their passage over the *Humber* into *Lin-*  
“ *colnshire* about their necessary occasions; and  
“ such other indignities, as all Gentlemen must  
“ resent in his Majesty's behalf) his Majesty, to  
“ show his earnest desire of Peace, for which he  
“ will dispense with his own Honor, and how far  
“ he is from desire of Revenge, will grant a free  
“ and general Pardon to all Persons within that  
“ Town.

“ That his Majesty's Magazine, taken from *Hull*,  
“ be forthwith put into such hands, as He shall  
“ appoint.

“ That his Navy be forthwith delivered into such  
“ hands, as he hath directed for the Government  
“ thereof: The detaining thereof after his Majesty's  
“ Directions, published and received, to the con-  
“ trary; and employing his Ships against him in such  
“ manner,

“ manner, as they are now used, being notorious  
“ High-Treason in the Commanders of those Ships.

“ That all Arms, Levies, and Provisions for a  
“ War, made by the consent of both Houses (by  
“ whose Example his Majesty hath been forced to  
“ make some Preparations) be immediately laid  
“ down; and the pretended Ordinance for the Mi-  
“ litia and all power of imposing Laws upon the  
“ Subject without his Majesty’s consent, be dis-  
“ avowed; without which, the same Pretence will  
“ remain to produce the same Mischief. All which  
“ his Majesty may as lawfully demand as to live,  
“ and can with no more justice be denied him, than  
“ his Life may be taken from him.

“ These being done, and the Parliament adjourned  
“ to a safe and secure place, his Majesty promises,  
“ in the presence of God, and binds himself by all  
“ his Confidence and Assurance in the Affection of  
“ his People, that he will instantly, and most cheer-  
“ fully, lay down all the Force he shall have raised,  
“ and discharge all his future and intended Levies;  
“ that there may be a general face of Peace over  
“ the whole Kingdom; and will repair to them :  
“ And desires, that all Differences may be freely  
“ debated in a Parliamentary way; whereby the  
“ Law may recover it’s due reverence, the Subject  
“ his Just Liberty, and Parliaments themselves their  
“ full Vigor and Estimation; and so the whole  
“ Kingdom a blessed Peace, Quiet, and Prosperity.

“ If these Propositions shall be rejected, his  
“ Majesty doubts not of the Protection and Assist-  
“ ance of Almighty God, and the ready Concur-

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“ rence of his good Subjects ; who can have no hope  
“ left them of enjoying their own long, if their  
“ King may be oppressed, and spoiled, and must  
“ be remediless. And though his Towns, his Ships,  
“ his Arms, and his Money, be gotten, and taken  
“ from him, he hath a Good Cause left, and the  
“ Hearts of his People ; which, with God’s bles-  
“ sing, he doubts not, will recover all the rest.

“ Lastly, if the preservation of the Protestant  
“ Religion, the defence of the Liberty and Laws  
“ of the Kingdom, the dignity and freedom of  
“ Parliament; and the recovery, and the relief of  
“ bleeding and miserable *Ireland*, be equally pre-  
“ cious to the Petitioners, as they are to his Majesty  
“ ( who will have no quarrel but in defence of these )  
“ there will be a cheerful and speedy consent to what  
“ his Majesty hath now proposed, and desired :  
“ And of this his Majesty expects a full and positive  
“ Answer, by *Wednesday* the 27<sup>th</sup> of this instant  
“ *July*; till when, he shall not make any Attempt  
“ of force upon *Hull*, hoping in the Affection,  
“ Duty, and Loyalty of the Petitioners: And in  
“ the mean time, expects that no supply of Men  
“ be put into *Hull*; nor any of his Majesty’s Goods  
“ taken from thence.”

The whole Court, upon the hearing that Petition from the two Houses read, expressed a marvellous Indignation at the Intolerable Indignities offered to the King by it; and seemed no better satisfied with the Messengers; who had professed, that they brought an absolute submission to his Majesty; when in truth, what they brought,

appeared to be a full Justification of whatsoever they had done before, and an implied Threat of doing worse, and fixing all the scandals upon his Majesty, which they had scattered abroad before: insomuch that all Men expected, and believed his Majesty to be engaged, for the vindication of his Princely dignity and honor, to return a much sharper Answer to them, than he had ever sent. So that, when this which is before set down (and which had before been consented to, and approved in the full Assembly of the Peers, and Counsellors) was read publicly, it was generally thought, that the King had not enough resented the Insolence, and Usurpation of the Parliament, or appeared sensible enough of the Provocations: Yet the thought of a War, which wise Men saw actually levied upon the King already, was so much abhorred, and Men were so credulous of every Expedient which was pretended for Peace, that, by the next morning (the Answer being delivered in the evening) these active Messengers for the Parliament persuaded many "that the King's  
 " Answer was too sharp, and would provoke the  
 " Houses, who were naturally passionate, to proceed in the high ways they were in; whereas,  
 " if the King would abate that severity of Language,  
 " and would yet take off the Preamble of his  
 " Answer, they were confident, and the Earl of  
 " *Holland* privately offered to undertake, that satisfaction should be given to all that his Majesty  
 " proposed." And, by this means, some were so far wrought upon, as they earnestly importuned the King, "that he would take his Answer, which



**B O O K** “ he had publicly delivered the night before, from  
**V.** “ the Messengers; and, instead thereof, return  
“ only the Matter of his own Propositions, in the  
“ most soft and gentle Language; without the Pre-  
“ amble, or any mention of the unjustifiable, and  
“ unreasonable demeanour of the Parliament to-  
“ wards him.”

But his Majesty replied, “ that he had for a long  
“ time, even after great provocations, and their  
“ first general Remonstrance to the People, treated  
“ with all imaginable compliance, and lenity of  
“ words with them; and discovered their unjusti-  
“ fiable and extravagant proceedings with and  
“ against him. and the consequences that would  
“ inevitably attend their Progress in them, with  
“ such tender expressions, as if he believed what-  
“ ever was amiss to proceed from misinformation  
“ only, and unskillful mistakes: That this gentle-  
“ ness, and regard of his, was so far from opera-  
“ ting upon them, that their Insolence, and Irre-  
“ gularities increased; and it might be from that  
“ reason, that their Messages and Declarations were  
“ writ in so high a Dialect, and with that Sove-  
“ reignty of Language, as if He were subject to  
“ Their jurisdiction; and did not know but it might  
“ have some influence upon his People to his dis-  
“ advantage, that is, raise terror towards Them,  
“ and lessen their reverence towards his Majesty,  
“ when all their Petitions and Propositions were  
“ more Imperative than His just, and necessary  
“ Refusals: Which condescension his Majesty had  
“ brought himself to, in hope, that His example,

“ and Their natural shame, would have reformed B O O K  
 “ that new Licence of words: That this last Address, V.  
 “ under the name of a Petition (a few days after  
 “ they had violently ravished his whole Fleet from  
 “ him; and prepared the same day, that they had  
 “ chosen a General, to whom they had sworn  
 “ Allegiance, to lead an Army against him) con-  
 “ tained a peremptory Justification of whatsoever  
 “ they had done; and as peremptory a Threatening  
 “ of whatsoever they could do: and therefore, if  
 “ he should Now retract his Answer, which had  
 “ been solemnly considered in Council, before all  
 “ the Peers, and which in truth implied rather a  
 “ Princely resentment of the Indignities offered to  
 “ him, than flowed with any sharp or bitter Expres-  
 “ sions, he should, by such yielding, give encour-  
 “ agement to New attempts; and could not but  
 “ much discourage those, upon whose Affections  
 “ and Loyalty he was principally to depend; who  
 “ could not think it safe to raise themselves to an  
 “ indignation on his behalf, when He expressed so  
 “ tender, or so little sense of his own sufferings:  
 “ besides, that he was then upon an avowed Hostile  
 “ enterprize for the reduction of *Hull*; towards  
 “ which he was to use all possible means to draw a  
 “ Force together, equal to that Design; and by such  
 “ a Retraction as this proposed, and a seeming de-  
 “ clenfion of his Spirit, and depending upon their  
 “ good natures, who had done all this mischief, he  
 “ should not only be inevitably disappointed of the  
 “ resort of new strength, but, probably, deserted  
 “ by those few whom he had brought together:

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“ That he could not reasonably, or excusably de-  
 “ pend upon the undertaking of the Earl of *Holland*;  
 “ who had so grossly deceived him in other under-  
 “ takings, which were immediately in his own  
 “ power to have performed: whereas neither he,  
 “ nor either of the other two Gentlemen, who  
 “ were joined with him in this employment, had  
 “ so much interest with the Active and Prevailing  
 “ Party, as to know more of their Intentions than  
 “ was at present necessary to be discovered for their  
 “ Concurrence.

“ He said, that he had never yet consented to any  
 “ one Particular, since the beginning of this Parli-  
 “ ament, by which he had received prejudice, at  
 “ the doing whereof he had not the solemn under-  
 “ takings and promises of those, who were much  
 “ abler to justify their undertakings, than the Earl  
 “ of *Holland*; and upon whom he only depended,  
 “ that it should be no disservice to him, and would  
 “ be an infallible means to compass all that his Ma-  
 “ jesty desired: But he had always found those Pro-  
 “ misers and Undertakers, though they could emi-  
 “ nently carry on any Counsel, or Conclusion, that  
 “ was against Law, Justice, or His Right, had never  
 “ power to reduce, or restrain those agitations  
 “ within any bounds of Sobriety, and moderation:  
 “ And when they found, that many would not be  
 “ guided by them, that they might seem still to  
 “ Lead, themselves as furiously Followed the others;  
 “ and resorted again to his Majesty with some new  
 “ Expedient, as destructive as the former. So that  
 “ he was resolved to rely upon God Almighty,

“ and not so much to depend upon what might  
 “ possibly prevail upon the Affections of those, from  
 “ whom, reasonably, he could not expect any good,  
 “ as upon such plain and avowed courses, as, let  
 “ the success be what it would, must, to all judging  
 “ Men, appear to be prudently, and honorably  
 “ relied on: And therefore he positively refused to  
 “ make the least alteration in his Answer:” And so  
 the Messengers departed, leaving the Court and  
 Country worse affected than they found it; and  
 branding some particular Persons, whom they found  
 less inclined to be ruled by their professions and  
 promises, “ as the Authors of a Civil War:” And  
 making them as odious as they could, wherever  
 they came.

And sure, from that time, the Earl of *Holland* was  
 more transported from his natural temper and gentle-  
 ness of disposition, into passion and animosity  
 against the King, and his Ministers; and, having been  
 nothing pleased with his own condition at *London*,  
 finding the Earl of *Essex* (whom he did not secretly  
 love, and did indeed contemn) to draw all Men's  
 Eyes towards him, and to have the greatest Interest  
 in their hearts, he had seriously intended, under  
 color of this Message to the King, to discover if  
 there were any sparks yet left in his Royal breast,  
 which might be kindled into affection, or accepta-  
 tion of his Service; and hoped, if he could get any  
 credit, to redeem his former trespasses: But when  
 he not only found his Majesty cold towards him,  
 but easily enough discerned, by his reception, that  
 all former inclinations were dead, and more than



BOOK ordinary prejudices grown up towards him in their  
 V. places, and that his advices were rejected, he returned with rancor equal to the most furious he went to; and heartily joined and concurred towards the suppressing that Power, in the Administration whereof he was not like to bear any part.

His Majesty having by his Answer, obliged himself not to make any forcible Attempt upon *Hull* till the 27<sup>th</sup> of *July*, by which time he might reasonably expect an Answer to his Propositions, in the mean time resolved to make some short progress into the neighbour Counties; and accordingly, the same day the Messengers departed, the King went to *Doncaster*; and the next day to *Nottingham*; and so to *Leicester*; where he heard, the Earl of *Stanford*, and some other Parliament-Men, were executing the Ordinance of the Militia: But before his Majesty came thither, they removed themselves to *Northampton*; a Town so true to them, as, if they had been pursued, would have shut their Gates against the King Himself, as *Hull* had done.

At *Leicester* the King was received, with great expressions of Duty and Loyalty, by the appearance of the Trained bands, and full Acclamations of the People; yet there were two Accidents that Happened there, which, if they be at all remembered, will manifest, that if the King were Loved there as he ought to be, that the Parliament was more Feared than He. It happened to be at the time of the general Assizes, and Justice *Reeve* (a Man of a good reputation for Learning, and Integrity; and who, in good times, would have been a good Judge) sat

there as Judge; and Mr. *Henry Hastings*, younger Son to the Earl of *Huntingdon*, was purposely made high Sheriff, to contain the County within the limits of their duty by the power of that Office, as well as by the Interest, and Relation of his Family. The Earl of *Stamford*, and his Assistants, had departed the Town but few hours before his Majesty's entrance; and had left their Magazine, which was indeed the Magazine of the County, in a little Store-House at the end of the Town, guarded by some inferior Officers whom they had brought down to Train and Exercise the Militia, and other Zealous and devoted Men of the County, in all to about the Number of 25, who had barricadoed the door of the House; and professed "to keep it against all demanders; having provisions within it of all sorts. The King was very unwilling (coming in so peaceable a manner, at so peaceable a time) to take any notice of it. On the other hand, it was an Act of too great insolence to be suffered; and, upon the matter, to leave a Garrison of the Rebels in possession of the Town; and therefore he sent word to the Judge, "that if He took not some legal way to "remove such a Force so near his Majesty, his Majesty would do it in some Extraordinary course:" Which, upon the sudden, would have puzzled him to have done; having neither Soldier, Cannon, nor Powder to effect it; the want of which as much troubled the Sheriff. In the end, the Gentlemen of the Country, who had not yet otherwise declared themselves on either side, than by waiting on his Majesty, finding that the King would not go from

**B O O K** the Town, till that Nuisance was removed; and  
 v. that it might bring Inconveniencies, Charge, and  
 Mischief to the County of a high nature; so prevailed, that, as his Majesty was contented to take no notice of it, so they within the House, in the night, upon assurance of Safety, and Liberty to go whither they would, removed and left the House; and so that matter was quieted.

The other Accident was, or was like to have proved, more Ridiculous: Some of the King's Servants, hearing that the Earl of *Stamford*, and the other Militia-Men were newly gone out of the Town, had of Themselves, coming thither before the King, galloped after them; intending to have apprehended them, and brought them before the King; and, though the other were too fleet for them, had, in the way, overtaken Dr. *Bastwick*, a Man well known, who had been a principal Officer with them at *Leicester*, and fled at the same time, but could not keep pace with his Commanders: Him they brought to the Town, where, by the Sheriff, he was committed to Prison; having confessed enough Treason, and justifying it, as would have justly hanged any Subject. The King thought once to have had him indicted then, at the Assizes, upon the plain Statute of 25 *E. III.* But the Judge besought his Majesty not to put a matter of so great moment, upon which the power of the two Houses of Parliament, and a Parliament sitting, must be determined, before one single Judge, whose reputation was not enough to bear so great a burden; however, he declared his own opinion fully to his Ma-

jesty, "that it was Treason; which, he believed, all  
 "the other Judges must acknowledge; and if con-  
 "vened together by his Majesty to that purpose,  
 "he thought a joint Declaration, and Resolution  
 "of all together might be of great use to the King;  
 "whereas the publishing of His particular opinion  
 "could only destroy himself, and nothing advance  
 "his Majesty's Service: Besides, he had no reason  
 "to be so confident of the Country, as to conclude  
 "that a Jury, then suddenly summoned, would  
 "have courage to find the Bill; and then their Not  
 "doing it, if it were attempted, would prove a  
 "greater countenance to the Ordinance, than the  
 "Votes of the two Houses had yet given it." This  
 last reason gave his Majesty satisfaction; so that he  
 was contented that the fellow should be kept in  
 Prison, and the Trial be deferred, till he could con-  
 veniently summon more Judges to be present.

His Majesty was no sooner persuaded to be con-  
 tent that this prosecution might be suspended, but  
 the close Agents for the Parliament's Service, who  
 were not yet discovered but appeared very entire  
 to the King, so dextrously carried themselves, that  
 they prevailed with those Gentlemen of the Country,  
 whose Zeal to his Majesty was most eminent and  
 unquestionable, and even with the Judge himself,  
 "to wish, that his Majesty would freely and gra-  
 "ciously discharge the Dr. of his Imprisonment;" or  
 give the Judge leave to do so upon a *Habeas Corpus*  
 (which he was advised to require) "And that it  
 "would be such an Act of Mercy, and singular  
 "Justice, that would not only work upon the People



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“ of That Countrey to his Majesty’s advantage, but  
 “ must have a great influence upon the whole King-  
 “ dom, and even upon the Parliament itself.” And  
 with this strange desire the good Judge, and those  
 principal Gentlemen, confidently came to the King,  
 the night before he intended to return Northward.  
 His Majesty told them, “ he would think of it till  
 “ the next morning ” And, in the mean time, con-  
 cluding by what he heard, that though he should  
 refuse to discharge him or to consent that he should  
 be discharged, his restraint would not be long in  
 that place after His departure, the People already  
 resorting to him with great Licence, and the Dr.  
 according to his Nature, talking seditiously and  
 loudly, he directed “ a Messenger of the Chamber  
 “ very early, with such Assistance as the Sheriff  
 “ should give him, to carry him away to *Notting-*  
 “ *ham*; and by the help of that Sheriff, to the Goal  
 “ at *York*.” Which was executed accordingly with  
 expedition, and secrecy; if either of which had  
 been absent, it is certain the Common People had  
 rescued him; which, of how trivial a moment for-  
 ever it shall be thought, I could not but mention as  
 an Instance of the Spirit and Temper of that time,  
 and the great Disadvantage the King was upon,  
 that so many very good Men thought fit, at a time,  
 when very many hundreds of Persons of Honor,  
 and Quality, were imprisoned with all strictness and  
 severity by the Parliament, upon the bare suspicion  
 that they meant to go to the King, or that they wished  
 well to him, or for not submitting to some illegal  
 Order, or Command of theirs, that the King should

discharge an infamous Person, taken in an Act of High Treason, and who more frankly and avowedly professed sedition, than he did the Science of which he pretended to be Doctor. BOOK  
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The King, according to his appointment, returned towards *Hull*, in expectation of an Answer from the Parliament; which came two days after the appointed day, but with no solemnity of Messengers, or other ceremony than inclosed to one of the Secretary's to be presented to the King; in which they told him,

“ That they could not, for the present, with the discharge of the Trust reposed in them for the safety of the King and Kingdom, yield to those Demands of his Majesty: the reason why they took into their custody the Town of *Hull*, the Magazine, and Navy; passed the Ordinance of the Militia; and made preparations of Arms; was for security of Religion, the safety of his Majesty's Person, of the Kingdom, and Parliament; all which they did see in evident, and imminent danger; from which when they should be secured, and that the Forces of the Kingdom should not be used to the destruction thereof, they should then be ready to withdraw the Garrison out of *Hull*; to deliver the Magazine and Navy; and settle the Militia, by Bill, in such a way as should be honorable and safe for his Majesty; most agreeable to the duty of Parliament; and effectual for the good of the Kingdom; as they had professed in their late Petition. And for Adjourning the Parliament, they apprehended no reason for his

The Parliament's Repliation, July 26. 1642.

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 “ to consent to it. And as for that reason which his  
 “ Majesty was pleased to express, they doubted not  
 “ but the Usual place would be as safe for his Royal  
 “ Person, as any other; considering the full Assu-  
 “ rance they had of the Loyalty, and Fidelity of the  
 “ City of *London* to his Majesty; and the care which  
 “ his Parliament would ever have to prevent any  
 “ danger, which his Majesty might justly apprehend;  
 “ besides the manifold conveniences to be had there,  
 “ beyond any other parts of the Kingdom. And as  
 “ for the laying down of Arms; when the causes  
 “ which moved them to provide for the defence of  
 “ his Majesty, the Kingdom and Parliament, should  
 “ be taken away, they should very willingly, and  
 “ cheerfully forbear any further Preparations, and  
 “ lay down their Force already raised.”

Which Replication, as they called it, to his Majesty Answer, they ordered “to be Printed, and  
 “ read in all Churches, and Chapels within the  
 “ Kingdom of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*.

And so the War was now denounced, by their express Words against his Majesty; as it had been long before in their Actions; and both Parties seemed to give over all thoughts of further Treaties, and Overtures; and each prepared to make themselves considerable by the strength, and power of such Forces, as they could draw together.

In *London* they intended nothing but the forming of their Army, and such other things of power, as were in order thereunto. To that purpose, the Bill for the payment of Tonnage and Poundage being

expired, on the first day of *July*, and they having sent another of the same nature to the King for his consent, for six Months longer, his Majesty, since he saw That, and all other Money properly belonging to him, violently taken from him, and employed by them against him, refused to give his Royal Assent thereunto: Whereupon, without the least hesitation (albeit it had been enacted this very Parliament, "that whosoever should presume to pay, or " receive that duty, after the expiration of the Act, " before the same was granted to his Majesty with " the consent of the Lords and Commons, should " be in a *Præmunire*;" which is the heaviest punishment inflicted by Law, but the Loss of Life) they appointed and ordered by the Power of the two Houses (which they called an Ordinance of Parliament) "that the same duty should be continued; " and declared that they would save all Persons concerned, from any Penalty or Punishment whatsoever:" By, which they now became possessed of the Customs, in their own right.

Towards such, as any ways (though under the obligation of Oaths or Offices) opposed, or discountenanced what they went about, they proceeded with the most extravagant severity that had been ever heard of; of which I shall only mention two Instances; the First, of the Lord Mayor of *London*, Sir *Richard Gurney*, a Citizen of great Wealth, Reputation, and Integrity; whom the Lords had, upon the complaint of the House of Commons, before their sending the last Petition to the King (of which his Majesty gave them a touch in his Answer) com-



**B O O K** V.      mitted to the Tower of *London*: for causing the King's Proclamation against the Militia, by virtue of his Majesty's Writ to him directed, and according to the known Duty of his place, to be publicly proclaimed. And shortly after, that they might have a Man more compliant with their designs to govern the City, notwithstanding that he insisted upon his innocence, and made it appear that he was obliged by the Laws of the Land, the Customs of the City, and the Constitution of his Office, and his Oath, to do whatsoever he had done: He was by their Lordships, in the presence of the Commons, adjudged "to be put out of his Office of Lord Mayor of *London*; to be utterly incapable of bearing Office in "City or Kingdom, and of all Honor or Dignity; "and to be imprisoned, during the pleasure of the "two Houses of Parliament." And, upon this sentence, Alderman *Pennington*, so often before mentioned, was, by the noise and clamor of the Common People, against the Customs and Rules of Election, made Mayor; and accordingly installed: and the true, old, worthy Mayor committed to the Tower of *London*; where, with notable constancy, he continued almost to his Death.

The other Instance, I think fit to mention, is that of Judge *Mallet*; who, as is before remembered, was committed to the Tower the last Lent, for having seen a Petition prepared by the grand Jury of *Kent*, for the Countenance of the Book of Common Prayer, and against the imposition of the Militia by Ordinance without the Royal Assent. This Judge (being, this Summer Circuit, again Judge of Assize for those Counties)

Counties) sitting at *Maidstone* upon the great Assize, some Members of the House of Commons, under the Style and Title of a Committee of Parliament, came to the Bench; and, producing some Votes, and Orders, and Declarations of one or both Houses, "required him, in the name of the Parliament, to "cause those Papers (being on the behalf of the Ordinance of the Militia, and against the Commission of Array) "to be read." He told them, "that he sat "there by virtue of his Majesty's Commissions; and "that he was authorized to do any thing comprised "in those Commissions; but he had no Authority "to do any thing else; and therefore, there being "no mention, in either of his Commissions, of those "Papers, or the Publishing any thing of that nature, "he could not, nor would not do it;" and so (finding less respect and submission, than they expected, both to their Persons and their Business, from the Learned Judge, and that the whole County, at least the prime Gentlemen and the Grand Jury, which represented the County, contemned both much more) this Committee returned to the House with great exclamations against Mr. Justice *Mallet*, "as the Fomenter and "Protector of a Malignant Faction against the Parliament. And, upon this Charge, a Troop of Horse was sent to attend an Officer; who came with a Warrant from the Houses, or some Committee (whereas Justice *Mallet*, being an Assistant of the House of Peers, could not Regularly be summoned by any other Authority) to *Kingston* in *Surry*, where the Judge was keeping the general Assizes for that County; and, to the unspeakable Dishonor of the

**B O O K** Public Justice of the Kingdom, and the Scandal of  
**V.** all Ministers or Lovers of Justice, in that violent manner took the Judge from the Bench, and carried him Prisoner to *Westminster*; from whence by the two Houses, he was committed to the Tower of *London*; where he remained for the space of above two years, without ever being charged with any particular Crime, till he was redeemed by his Majesty by the exchange of another, whose liberty they desired.

By these heightened Acts of Power and Terror, they quickly demonstrated, how unsecure it would be for any Man, at least not to concur with them. And, having a General, Arms, Money, and Men enough at their devotion, they easily formed an Army, publicly disposing such Troops and Regiments, as had been raised for *Ireland*, and, at one time, one hundred thousand pounds of that Money, which, by Act of Parliament, had been paid for that purpose, towards the constituting that Army, which was to be led against their Lawful Sovereign. So that it was very evident, they would be in such an Equipage within few Weeks, both with a Train of Artillery, Horse and Foot, all taken, armed, furnished, and supplied out of his Majesty's own Magazines and Stores, that they had not reason to fear any opposition. In the mean time, they declared, and published to the People, "that they raised that Army, " only for the defence of the Parliament, the King's " Person, and the Religion, Liberty, and Laws of " the Kingdom, and of those, who, for Their " sakes, and for those Ends, had obeyed their Orders:

“ That the King, by the instigation of evil Coun- B O O K  
 “ sellors, had raised a great Army of Papists; by v.  
 “ which he intended to awe, and destroy the Parlia-  
 “ ment; to introduce Popery, and Tyranny: Of  
 “ which intention, they said, his requiring *Hull*:  
 “ his sending out Commissions of Array; bespeaking  
 “ Arms and Ammunition beyond the Seas (there  
 “ having been some brought to him by the Ship  
 “ called the *Providence*) his declaring Sir *John Ho-*  
 “ *tham* Traytor; and the putting out the Earl of  
 “ *Northumberland* from being Lord High - Admiral  
 “ of *England*; his removing the Earls of *Pembroke*,  
 “ *Effex*, *Holland*, the Lord *Fielding*, and Sir *Henry*  
 “ *Vane*, from their several places and employments;  
 “ were sufficient and ample evidences: And there-  
 “ fore, they conjured all Men, to assist their Ge-  
 “ neral, the Earl of *Effex*.” And, for their better  
 and more secret transaction of all such Counsels, as  
 were necessary to be entered upon, or followed,  
 they made a Committee, of some choice Members  
 of either House, to intend the great business of the  
 Kingdom with reference to the Army; who had Au-  
 thority, without so much as communicating the  
 matter to the House, to imprison Persons, seize upon  
 their Estates; and many other Particulars, which  
 the two Houses, in full Parliament, had not the least  
 Regular, Legal Justifiable Authority to do And  
 for the better encouragement of Men to engage in the  
 Service, the Lord *Kimbolton* and the five Members  
 of the House of Commons, formerly accused by his  
 Majesty of High Treason, upon solemn debate, had  
 several Regiments conferred on them; and, by their



**B O O K** example, many other Members of both Houses;  
**v.** some upon their lowness, and decayedness of their Fortunes, others to get name and reputation to be in the number of Reformers (amongst whom they doubted not all Places of Honor, or Offices of profit, would be bestowed) most upon the confidence, that all would be ended without a Blow, by the King's want of power to gather strength, desired and obtained Command of Horse or Foot; their Quality making amends for their want of experience, and their other defects; which were repaired by many good Officers both English, and Scots; the late Troubles having brought many of that tribe to *London*, and the reputation of the Earl of *Essex* having drawn others, out of the Low Countries, to engage in that Service. In the choice of which Officers, whilst they accused the King of a purpose to bring a Foreign Force, and of entertaining Papists, they neither considered Nation nor Religion; but entertained all Strangers, and Foreigners, of what Religion soever, who desired to run their Fortune in the War.

On the other side, Preparations were not made with equal expedition, and success by the King, towards a War: For, though he well understood, and discerned, that he had nothing else to trust to, he was to encounter strange Difficulties to do that. He was so far from having Money to levy, or pay Soldiers, that he was, at this very time, compelled for very real want, to let fall all the Tables kept by his Officers of State in Court, by which so many of all qualities subsisted; and the Prince, and Duke of

*Tork*, eat with his Majesty; which Table only was kept. And whoever knows the Constitution of a Court, well knows what indispositions naturally flow from those declensions; and how ill those Tempers bear any diminution of their own Interests; and being once indisposed themselves, how easily they infect others. And that which made the present want of Money the more intolerable, there was no visible hope from whence supply could come, in any reasonable time: And that which was a greater want than Money, which Men rather feared than found, there were no Arms; for, notwithstanding the fame of the great Store of Ammunition, brought in by that Ship, it consisted only in truth of Cannon, Powder, and Bullet, with eight hundred Musquets, which was all the King's Magazine. So that the hastening of Levies, which at that time was believed would not prove difficult, would be to little purpose, when they should continue unarmed. But that which troubled the King more than all these real incapacities of making War, was the temper and constitution of his own Party; which was compounded, for the most part, in Court, Council, and Country, of Men drawn to him by the impulsion of Conscience, and abhorring the unjust and irregular proceedings of the Parliament; otherwise unexperienced in Action, and unacquainted with the Mysteries, and necessary Policy of Government; severe observers of the Law, and as scrupulous in all matters relating to it, as the other pretended to be. All his Majesty's Ancient Counsellors, and Servants (except some few of lasting Honor, whom We shall have occasion

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often to mention) that they might redeem former overlooks, or for other unworthy designs, being either publicly against him in *London*, or privately discrediting his Interest and Actions, in his own Court. These Men still urged "the execution of the Law; that what extravagances soever the Parliament practised, the King's observation of the Law would, in the end, suppress them all." And, indeed, believed the raising a War to be so wicked a thing, that they thought it impossible the Parliament should intend it, even when they knew what they were doing. However they concluded, "that he that was forwardest in the preparing an Army, would be first odious to the People; by the affections of whom, the other would be easily suppressed."

This was the general received Doctrine; and though it appeared plainly to others (of equal affection to the Public Peace) how fatal those Conclusions, in that sense in which they were urged, must prove to the whole Kingdom; and how soon the King must be irrecoverably lost, if he proceeded not more vigorously in his defence; yet even those Men durst not, in any formed and public Debate, declare themselves; or speak that plain English the State of Affairs required; but satisfied themselves with speaking, what they thought necessary, to the King in Private; by which means the King wanted those firm, and solid foundations of Counsel and Foresight, that were most necessary for his condition: So that he could neither impart the true motives, and grounds of any important Action, nor discover the utmost of his Designs. And so he still seemed (notwithstand-

ing the greatest, and avowed preparations of the Enemy) to intend nothing of Hostility, but in order to the reducing of *Hull*; the benefit of which he hoped, would engage the Trained-bands of that great County (which was the sole strength he yet drew thither) till he could bring other Forces thither, which might be fit for that, or any other Design.

But there was another Reason of his Majesty's going to, and staying at *Beverly*, than was understood; and, it may be, if it had been known, might have produced a better Effect; which I think necessary to insert in this place. The Lord *Digby*, whom We have mentioned before, in the first disorder, by which the King and Queen were driven from *London*, to have left *England*, and to be after unreasonably accused by the House of Commons of High-Treason, had remained from that time in *Holland*; and, hearing the King's condition at *York*, to be so much improved beyond what he left it at *Windsor*, had, with some Commands from the Queen, arrived there very privately, and stayed some days in a disguise at *York*, revealing himself to very few Friends, and speaking with the King in so secret a manner in the night, that no notice was taken of his being there; and, finding the King's Affairs not in so good a posture as he expected, and conceiving it yet not fit for him to appear, resolved to return again to the Queen, and to hasten that provision of Arms and Ammunition, without which it was not possible for the King to resist any violence that threatened him; and so, in the same Bark which brought him over, he went again to Sea for *Holland*, with *Wilmot*, *Ashburnham*,



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*Pollard*, and *Berkeley*; who purposely removed themselves from Court, upon the clamor of the Parliament, till the King was ready to use their Service. They were not many hours at Sea, when they met the *Providence* (which We mentioned before) with the Ammunition, which was only wanted; and, well knowing her, they agreed, “that *Wilmot*, *Pollard*, “and *Berkeley*, should return with the Ammunition to the King; and *Digby*, and Col. *Ashburnham*, should pursue their former Intentions for “*Holland*.” But their Parties continued so long, that the Parliament-Ships, who had watched and chased the *Providence*, came up to them; and though the Ship escaped, and run on shore, as was before mentioned, yet the Fly-boat, in which the Lord *Digby* was, could not so well get away; but was taken by them, and carried in with so much the more triumph into *Hull*, that they had been disappointed of their greater Prize. Col. *Ashburnham*, though he was in great umbrage with the Parliament, and one of those Delinquents, whom they reproached the King with, was so well known to Sir *John Hotham*, with whom he stood in a good degree of familiarity, that he could not dissemble or conceal himself; but the Lord *Digby*, being in so real a disguise that his nearest friends would not easily have known him, pretended to be a Frenchman, whose Language he spoke excellently; and seemed to be so Sea-sick, that he kept himself in the hole of the Bark, till they came to *Hull*; and, in that time, disposed of such Papers as were not fit to be perused; and when he came on Shore, so well counterfeited sick-

ness, and want of health, that he easily procured himself to be sent, under a Guard, to some obscure corner for repose; whilst Col. *Ashburnham*, who was the only Prisoner they thought worth the looking after, was carefully carried to the Governor; who received him with as much Civility, as he could reasonably expect.

The Lord *Digby*, being by himself, quickly considered the desperateness of his condition: "That it would not be possible to conceal himself long, being so well known to many who were in the Providence, and the Garrison quickly knowing whatsoever was spoken of in the Country: That he was, how unjustly, or unreasonably soever, the most odious Man in the Kingdom to the Parliament; into whose hands if he should then come, his Life would be, at least, in apparent hazard:" And how to get himself out of that Labyrinth was very difficult, since Sir *John Hotham* was so far from any inclination of kindness towards him, as he had owned to Col. *Ashburnham*, that he was in the Number of his most notorious Enemies. However, in this eminent extremity (as he is a Man of the greatest presence of mind, and the least appalled upon danger, that I have known) he resolved, not to give himself over; and found means to make one of his Guard, in broken English, which might well have become any Frenchman, understand, "that he desired to speak privately with the Governor; and that would discover some Secrets of the King's, and Queen's to him, that would highly advance Service of the Parliament." The Fellow made!

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The Lord  
Digby's  
transactions,  
with Sir John  
Hotham, in  
Hull.

**B O O K** to let the Governor know these good tidings; who  
**v.** understanding French well, as speedily sent for the Frenchman; who was brought before him in the presence of much company, and without any disorder, gave such an account of himself, as they understood him to have seen much of the French Service (of which he spoke very fluently) and to have come over recommended to the King for some Command, if he should have occasion to use Soldiers; as, he said, People abroad conceived him likely to have. After he had entertained the company with such discourse, there being present some Gentlemen, who came lately out of *France*, and so being the more curious to administer questions, he applied himself to the Governor; and told him, "that if he might be admitted to privacy with him, he would discover somewhat to him, which he would not repent to have known." The Governor, who was a Man apt enough to fear his own safety, but more apprehensive of the Jealousies which would attend him (for his eldest Son, and some others, were more absolutely confided in by the Parliament than himself, and were in truth, but Spies over him) would not venture himself in another Room; but drew him to a great Window at a convenient distance from the company, and wished him "to say what he thought fit." The Lord *Digby*, finding he could not obtain more privacy, asked him, in English, "whether he knew him?" the other, surprised, told him, "No; Then, said he, I shall try whether I know Sir *John Hotham*; and whether he be, in truth, the same Man of Honor, I have always taken him

“ to be : ” And, thereupon, told him who he was ; and “ that he hoped he was too much a Gentleman to deliver him up a sacrifice to their rage and fury, “ who, he well knew, were his implacable Enemies.” The other, being astonished, and fearing that the By-standers would discover him too (for, being now told who he was, he wondered he found it not out Himself) he desired him “ to say no more for the present ; that he should not be sorry for the trust he “ reposed in him, and should find him the same Man “ he had thought him : That he would find some “ time, as soon as conveniently he might, to have “ more conference with him. In the mean time, that “ he should content himself with the ill accommodation he had : the amendment whereof would beget “ suspicion : and so he called the Guard, instantly “ to carry him away, and to have a very strict Eye “ upon him ; ” and turning to the Company, and being conscious to himself of the trouble and disorder in his Countenance, told them, “ that the French- “ man was a shrewd Fellow, and understood more “ of the Queen’s Counsels and designs, than a Man “ would suspect : That he had told him that which “ the Parliament would be glad to know ; to whom “ presently he would make a despatch, though he “ had not yet so clear informations, as, he presumed, “ he should have after two or three days : ” And so departed to his Chamber.

It was a wonderful influence, that this Noble Person’s Stars ( which used to lead him into, and out of the greatest perplexities and dangers, throughout the whole course of his Life ) had upon this



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whole affair. *Hotham* was, by his nature and education, a rough and a rude Man; of great covetousness, of great pride, and great ambition; without any Bowels of good nature, or the least sense, or touch of generosity; his parts were not quick and sharp, but composed, and he judged well; he was a Man of craft, and more like to deceive, than to be cozened: Yet, after all this, this young Nobleman, known, and abhorred by him, for his admirable faculty of Diffimulation, had so far prevailed, and imposed upon his spirit, that he resolved to Practice that Virtue, which the other had Imputed to him; and not to suffer him to fall into the hands of his Enemies. He sent for him, the next day, at an hour when he was more vacant from attendants, and observers; and, at first, told him his resolution; "that, since he had so frankly put himself into his hands, he would not deceive his Trust;" and wished him "to consider, in what way, and by what color, he should so set him at Liberty, that he might, without any other danger, arrive at the place where he would be. For, he said, he would not trust any Person living with the Secret, and least of all his Son;" whom he mentioned with all the bitterness imaginable, "as a Man of an ill nature, and furiously addicted to the worst designs the Parliament had, or could have; and One that was more depended upon by them than Himself, and sent thither only as a Spy upon him." From hence he entered upon the discourse "of the times, and mischief that was like to befall the whole Kingdom, from the difference between the King and

“ the Parliament.” Then lamented his own Fate,  
“ that, being a Man of very different Principles  
“ from those who drove things to this extremity,  
“ and of entire affection and duty to the King, he  
“ should now be looked upon as the Chief ground,  
“ and cause of the Civil War which was to ensue,  
“ by his not opening the Ports, when the King  
“ would have entered into the Town:” Of which  
business, and of all the circumstances attending it,  
he spake at large; and avowed, “ that the informa-  
“ tion sent him of the King’s purpose presently to  
“ hang him, was the true cause of his having pro-  
“ ceeded in that manner.”

The Lord *Digby*, who knew well enough how to cultivate every period of such a discourse, and how to work upon those Passions which were most predominant in him, joined with him in the sense of the Calamities, which were like to befall the Nation; which he bewailed Pathetically; and, “ that it  
“ should be in the power of a handful of ill Men,  
“ corrupted in their Affections to the King, and  
“ against Monarchy itself, to be able to involve  
“ him, and many others of his clear intentions, in  
“ their dark Counsels, and to engage them to prosecute ends which they abhorred, and which must  
“ determine in the ruin of all the undertakers. For,  
“ he told him, that the King, in a short time, would  
“ reduce all his Enemies: That the hearts of  
“ the People were already, in all places, aliened  
“ from them; and that the Fleet was so much  
“ at the King’s disposal, that, as soon as they should  
“ receive his Orders, they would appear in any

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“ place he appointed: That all the Princes in *Christen-*  
 “ *dom* were concerned in the quarrel. and would  
 “ engage in it. as soon as they should be invited to  
 “ it: And that the Prince of *Orange* was resolved to  
 “ come over in the head of his Army, and would  
 “ take *Hull* in three days.” All which ought. reason-  
 ably, to have been true in the Practice, though it  
 had very little ground in the Speculation. And when  
 he had, by degrees, amused and terrified him with  
 this discourse, he enlarged upon “ the Honor and  
 “ Glory, that Man would have, who could be so  
 “ blessed, as to prevent this terrible Confusion that  
 “ was in view: That King and People would join  
 “ in rewarding him with Honors, and Preferments  
 “ of all kind; and that his Name would be derived  
 “ to Posterity, as the Preserver of his Country. He  
 “ told him, He was that Man, that could do all  
 “ this; that, by delivering up *Hull* to the King, he  
 “ might extinguish the War; and that immediately  
 “ a Peace would be established throughout the  
 “ Kingdom: That the world believed, that he had  
 “ some credit both with the King; and Queen; that  
 “ he would employ it all in his Service; and if he  
 “ would give him this rise to begin upon, he should  
 “ find, that he would be much more solicitous for  
 “ His greatness, and a full recompence for his merit,  
 “ than he was now for his own safety.” All these  
 Advertisements, and reflections, were the subject  
 of more than one discourse; for Sir *John Hotham*  
 could not bear the variety, and burden of all  
 those thoughts together; but within two days all  
 things were adjusted between them. *Hotham* said,

“ it would not become him, after such a refusal,  
 “ to put the Town into the King’s hands ; nor could  
 “ he undertake (if he resolved) to effect it; the  
 “ Town itself being in no degree affected to his  
 “ Majesty’s Service; and the Trained-bands, of  
 “ which the Garrison wholly consisted, were under  
 “ Officers upon whom he could not depend. But,  
 “ he said, if the King would come before the Town,  
 “ though but with one Regiment, and plant his  
 “ Cannon against it, and make but one shot, he  
 “ should think he had discharged his Trust to the  
 “ Parliament, as far as he ought to do; and that he  
 “ would immediately then deliver up the Town ;  
 “ which he made no doubt but that he should be then  
 “ able to do.” And, on this errand, he was con-  
 tented the Lord *Digby* should go to the King, and  
 be conducted out of the Town beyond the limits of  
 danger; the Governor having told those Officers he  
 trusted most, that “ he would send the Frenchman  
 “ to *York*; who, he was well assured, would return  
 “ to him again.” He gave him likewise a note to a  
 Widow, who lived in that City, at whose House  
 he might lodge, and by whose hands he might transmit  
 any Letters to him.

When he came to *York*, and after he had spoke  
 with the King, it was resolved, he should appear in  
 his own likeness, and wait upon the King in public,  
 that it might be believed, that he had Transported him-  
 self from *Holland* in the Ship that brought the Am-  
 munition; which was hardly yet come to *York*, it  
 being now about the time that Mr. *Villiers*, and Sir  
*John Pennington* had been sent away, and before the



**B O O K** news came of their ill success. This was the cause of  
 v. the sudden March towards *Hull*, before there was a  
 Soldier levied to make an Assault, or maintain a  
 Siege; which was so much wondered at then, and  
 so much censured afterwards. For as soon as his  
 Majesty received this assurance, which he had so  
 much reason to depend upon by the treatment the  
 Lord *Digby* had received, he declared, “ he would ,  
 “ upon such a day go to *Beverly*, a place within four  
 miles of *Hull*; and appointed three or four Regiments  
 of the Country, under the Command of such Gentie-  
 men whose affection was unquestionable, to march  
 thither, as a Guard to his Person: and likewise sent  
 a little Train of Artillery, which might be ready for  
 the Summons. When his Majesty was ready with  
 this Equipage for his March, the Lord *Digby* returned  
 again in his old disguise to *Hull*, to make sure that all  
 things there might correspond with the former obli-  
 gation. As soon as the King, and the whole Court  
 ( for none remained at *Tork* ) came to *Beverly* ( where  
 they were all accommodated, which kept them from  
 being quickly weary ) and the Trained-bands were  
 likewise come thither, the General, the Earl of  
*Lindsey*, first took possession of his Office; a little  
 troubled, and out of countenance, that he should  
 appear the General without an Army; and be en-  
 gaged in an Enterprize, which he could not imagine  
 would succeed. His Majesty ordered him to send  
 out some Officers, of which there was a good store,  
 to take a view of the Town, and of such advantage-  
 ground within distance. upon which he might raise  
 a Battery; as if he meant on a sudden to assault the

Whereupon  
 the King goes  
 to *Beverly*  
 with design  
 upon *Hull*, but  
 in vain.

place;

place; which appeared no unreasonable design; if there were a good Party in the Town to depend upon. And yet the General had no opinion, that his Army of Trained-bands would frankly expose themselves to such an Attack: Besides a great number of Officers, and Persons of Quality, who were all well Horfed, and had many Servants as well provided, the King had his Troop of Guards so constituted, as hath been said before; and there were few Horse in *Hull*, and those without Officers who understood that kind of Service. So that it was no hard matter to take a very full view of the Town, by riding to the very Ports, and about the Walls; nor, at first appearance, was there any show of Hostility from the Town upon their nearest approaches to it; but after they had made that visit two or three days together, they observed that the Walls were better manned, and that there was every day an increase of laborers repairing the Works; and then they begun to Shoot, when any went within distance of the Works.

All this while Sir *John Hotham* had tried some of his Officers, in whose particular affection he had most confidence, how far they were like to be governed by him; and found them of a temper not to be relied upon. His Son was grown jealous of some design, and was caballing with those who were most notorious for their disaffection to the Government; and new Officers were sent down, by the Parliament, to assist in the defence of the Town, which, they thought, might probably be attempted; and supplies of Men had been taken in from the Ships, and had been sent thither from *Boston*, a Town, upon the

**B O O K** same Coast, of eminent disloyalty. So that, when  
**V.** the Lord *Digby* returned thither, he found a great damp upon the spirit of the Governor, and a sadness of mind, that he had proceeded so far; of which his Lordship made all the haste he could to advertise the King; but his Letters must first be sent to *York* before they could come to *Beverly*; and, when they were received, they contained still somewhat of hope, "that he should be able to restore him to his former courage, and confirm his resolution:" So that the King seemed to defer any attempt, upon the hopes of the Earl of *Holland's* Message before mentioned, and, in the end, he was compelled to give over the design, all hope from the Governor growing desperate; whether from his want of Courage, or want of Power to execute what he desired, remains still uncertain. When Sir *John Hotham* gave over further thoughts of it, he dismissed both the Lord *Digby*, and Col. *Asburnham*, whom he had likewise detained till then, as a Man of use in the execution of the design, with many professions of Duty to the King; and as the concealing those two Persons, and afterwards releasing them, immediately increased the jealousy of the Parliament against him, so it was the Principal cause, afterwards, of the loss of his Head.

The King dismissed the Trained-bands, and returned with his Court to *York*, in so much less credit than when he came from thence, as the entering into a War without power, or preparation to prosecute it, was like to produce. The inconvenience was the greater, because the principal Persons of Quality,

of Court or Country, and the Officers, had the less reverence for the King's conduct, by seeing such an Action entered upon with so little reason, and prosecuted so perfunctorily: All which reproaches his Majesty thought fitter to bear, than to discover the Motives of his Journey; which were then known to few, nor, to this day, have been published.

When the King returned to *York*, exceedingly troubled at the late March he had made, and all Men expressing great impatience to be in Action, very many Persons of Honor and Quality, having attended long at Court, believing they might be more useful to his Majesty's Service in their own Countries, in restraining the disaffected from any seditious attempts, and disposing the People in general to be constant in their Loyalty, an Accident fell out, that made it absolutely necessary for the King to declare the War, and to enter upon it, before he was in any degree ripe for Action; which was, that *Portsmouth* had declared for the King, and refused to submit to the Parliament; which had thereupon sent an Army, under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, to reduce it. The relating how this came to pass, requires a large discourse, and will administer much variety, not without somewhat of pleasure and wonder, from the temper and spirit of the Person who conducted that Action; if it can be said to be conducted without any Conduct.

We have remembered before, in the last year, the discourse of the bringing up the Army to *London* to awe the Parliament, and the unspeakable dishonor, and damage the King sustained by that discourse,



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V. how groundless soever it was; all which was imputed to Col. *Goring*, who, by that means, grew into great reputation with the Parliament, as a Man so irrecoverably lost at Court, that he would join with them in the most desperate designs; yet he carried himself with so great dexterity, that, within few Months, he wrought upon the King and Queen to believe, that he so much repented that fault, that he would redeem it by any Service; and to trust him to that degree, that the Queen, once, resolved, when the tumults drove their Majesties first from *London*, for her security, to put herself into *Portsmouth*, which was under his Government, whilst his Majesty betook himself to the Northern parts; which design was no sooner over (if not before) than he, again, intimated so much of it to the Lord *Kimbolton*, and that Party, that they took all the trust he had from Court, to proceed from the confidence their Majesties had of his Father's interest in him; whose Affection, and Zeal to their Service was ever most indubitable: but assured themselves; He was their own, even against his own Father. So that he carried, the matter so, that, at the same time, he received 3000*l.* from the Queen (which she raised by the sale of her Plate, and some Jewels) to fortify, and victual, and reinforce his Garrison, against the time it should be necessary to declare for the King; and a good supply from the Parliament, for the payment of the Garrison, that it might be kept the better devoted to Them, and to Their Service. All which he performed with that admirable dissimulation, and rare confidence, that, when the

House of Commons was informed by a Member, whose Zeal, and Affection to them was as much valued as any Man's, "that all his correspondence in the County was with the most Malignant Persons; that of those, many frequently resorted to, and continued with him in the Garrison; that he was fortifying, and raising of Batteries towards the Land: And that, in his discourse, especially in the seasons of his good fellowship, he used to utter threats against the Parliament," and sharp censures of their Proceedings, and upon such Informations (the Author whereof was well known to them, and of great reputation; and lived so near *Portsmouth*, that he could not be mistaken, in the matter of fact) the House sent for him, most thinking he would refuse to come; Colonel *Goring* came, upon the Summons, with that undauntedness, that all clouds of distrust immediately vanished, insomuch as no Man presumed to whisper the least jealousy of him; which he observing, came to the House of Commons, of which he was a Member; and, having sat a day or two patiently, as if he expected some Charge, in the end he stood up, with a countenance full of modesty, and yet not without a mixture of anger (as he could help himself with all the insinuations of doubt, or fear, or shame, or simplicity in his face, that might gain belief, to a greater degree than I ever saw any Man; and could seem the most confounded when he was best prepared, and the most out of countenance when he was best resolved, and to want words, and the habit of speaking, when they flowed from no Man

B O O K with greater power) and told them, " that he had  
 V. " been sent for by them, upon some information  
 " given against him, and that, though he believed,  
 " the Charge being so ridiculous, they might have  
 " received, by their own particular inquiry, satisf-  
 " faction; yet the discourses that had been used,  
 " and his being sent for in that manner, had begot  
 " some Prejudice to him in his Reputation; which  
 " if he could not preserve, he should be less able to  
 " do them service; and therefore desired, that he  
 " might have leave (though very unskillful, and  
 " unfit to speak, in so wise and judicious an Assem-  
 " bly) to present to them the state and condition  
 " of that Place under his Command; and then he  
 " doubted not but to give them full satisfaction in  
 " those Particulars, which, possibly, had made  
 " some impression in them to his disadvantage:  
 " That he was far from taking it ill from those, who  
 " had given any information against him; for, what  
 " he had done, and must do, might give some  
 " Umbrage to well affected Persons, who knew not  
 " the grounds and reasons, that induced him so to  
 " do; but that if any such Person would, at any  
 " time, resort to him, he would clearly inform  
 " them of whatever Motives he had; and would  
 " be glad of their Advice, and Assistance for the  
 " better doing thereof." Then he took notice of  
 every particular that had been publicly said against  
 him, or privately whispered, and gave such plau-  
 sible Answers to the whole, intermingling sharp-  
 taunts, and scorns, to what had been said of him,  
 with pretty application of himself, and flattery to

the Men that spake it : Concluding , “ that they well  
 “ knew , in what esteem he stood with others : so  
 “ that if , by his ill carriage , he should forfeit the  
 “ good opinion of that House , upon which he  
 “ only depended , and to whose Service he entirely  
 “ devoted himself , he were mader than his Friends  
 “ took him to be , and must be as unpitied in any  
 “ misery , that could befall him , as his Enemies  
 “ would be glad to see him .” With which , as inno-  
 cently and unaffectedly uttered , as can be imagined ,  
 he got so general an Applause from the whole House ,  
 that , not without some little Apology for trou-  
 bling him , “ they desired him again to repair to his  
 “ Government , and to finish those Works , which  
 “ were necessary for the safety of the place ;” and  
 gratified him with consenting to all the Propositions ,  
 he made in behalf of his Garrison , and paid him a  
 good Sum of Money for their Arrears ; with which ,  
 and being privately assured ( which was indeed re-  
 solved on ) that he should be Lieutenant General  
 of their Horse in their new Army , when it should  
 be formed , he departed again to *Portsmouth* ; in the  
 mean time , assuring his Majesty by those who were  
 trusted between them , “ that he would be speedily  
 “ in a Posture to make any such Declaration for his  
 “ Service , as she should be required ;” which he was  
 forced to do sooner than he was provided for it ,  
 though not sooner than he had reason to expect .

When the Levies for the Parliament Army were  
 in good forwardness , and that Lord had received  
 his Commission for Lieutenant General of the Horse ,  
 he wrote to the Lord *Kimbolton* , who was his most



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bosom Friend, and a Man very powerful, desiring, "that he might not be called to give his attendance upon the Army, till it was ready to march; because there were so many things to be done, and perfected, for the safety of that important Place, that he was desirous to be present Himself at the work as long as was possible. In the mean time, he had given directions to his Agent in *London*, to prepare all things for his equipage; so that he would be ready to appear, at any Rendezvous, upon a day's warning." Though the Earl of *Essex* did much desire his company, and assistance in the Council of War, and preparing the Articles, and forming the Discipline for the Army, he having been more lately versed in the Order and Rule of Marches, and the provisions necessary, or convenient thereunto, than any Man then in their Service, and of greater Command than any Man but the General; yet the Lord *Kimbolton* prevailed, that he might not be sent for, till things were riper for Action. And, when that Lord did afterwards write to him, "that it was time he should come away," he sent such new, and reasonable excuses, that they were not unsatisfied with his delay; till he had multiplied those excuses so long, that they begun to suspect; and they no sooner inclined to suspicion but they met with abundant Arguments to cherish it. His behaviour and course of Life was very notorious to all the Neighbours, nor was he at all reserved in his mirth, and public Discourses, to conceal his opinion of the Parliament, and their Proceedings. So that, at last, the Lord *Kimbolton* writ plainly to

him, "that he could no longer excuse his absence  
 " from the Army, where he was much wanted;  
 " and that, if he did not come to *London* by such a  
 " short day, as he named, he found his Integrity  
 " would be doubted; and that many things were  
 " laid to his charge, of which he doubted not his  
 " innocence; and therefore conjured him, imme-  
 " diately, to be at *Westminster*; it being now to be  
 " no longer deferred, or put off." He writ a jolly  
 Letter to that Lord, "that, the truth was, his  
 " Council advised him, that the Parliament did  
 " many things which were illegal; and that he might  
 " incur much danger by obeying all their Orders;  
 " that he had received the Command of that Garri-  
 " son from the King; and that he durst not be absent  
 " from it, without His leave:" And concluded with  
 some good Counsel to the Lord.

This Declaration of the Governor of a place,  
 which had the reputation of being the only place  
 of strength in *England*, and situated upon the Sea,  
 put them into many apprehensions; and they lost  
 no time in endeavouring to reduce it; but, upon  
 the first understanding his resolution, Sir *William*  
*Waller* was sent, with a good part of the Army, so  
 to block it up, that neither Men, nor Provision,  
 might be able to get in; and some Ships were sent  
 from the Fleet, to prevent any relief by Sea: And  
 these advertisements came to the King, as soon as  
 he returned to *York*.

It gave no small reputation to his Majesty's Affairs,  
 when there was so great a damp upon the spirits of  
 Men, from the misadventures at *Beverly*, that so

B O O K V. notable a place as *Portsmouth* had declared for him, in the very beginning of the War; and that so good an Officer as *Goring*, was returned to his duty, and in the possession of the Town: And the King, who was not surpris'd with the matter, knowing well the resolution of the Colonel, made no doubt, but that he was very well supplied with all things, as he might well have been, to have given the Rebels work for three, or four Months, at the least. Whereupon, he forthwith published a Declaration, that had been long ready, in which he recapitulated all the Insolent, and Rebellious Actions the two Houses had committed against him: and declared them "to be guilty; and forbid all his Subjects to yield any obedience to them:" And, at the same time, published his Proclamation; by which, he "required all Men, who could bear Arms, to repair to him at *Nottingham*, by the 25<sup>th</sup> of *August* following; on which day, he would set up his Royal Standard there, which all good Subjects were obliged to attend." At the same time, he sent the Marquis of *Hertford* to raise Forces in the West, or, at least to restrain those parts (where His Interest, and Reputation was greater than any Man's) within the limits of their Duty to the King, and from being corrupted, or perverted by the Parliament; and with him went the Lord *Seymour*, his Brother; the Lords *Pawlet*, *Hopton*, *Stawel*, *Coventry*, *Berkely*, *Windham*, and some other Gentlemen, of the prime Quality, and Interest in the Western parts; who were like to give as good examples in their Persons, and to be followed by as many Men, as any such

Number of Gentlemen in *England* could be. And, from this Party, enlivened by the power, and reputation of the Marquis, the King was in hopes, that *Portsmouth* would be shortly relieved, and made the head-quarter to a good Army. When all this was done, he did all that was possible to be done, without Money, to hasten his Levies of Horse and Foot, and to prepare a light train of Artillery; that he might appear at *Nottingham*, at the day when the Standard was to be set up, with such a body of Men, as might be, at the least, a competent Guard to his Person

Many were then of opinion, “ that it had been  
 “ more for his Majesty’s benefit and Service, if the  
 “ Standard had been appointed to be set up at *York*;  
 “ and so that the King had stayed there, without  
 “ moving further South, until he could have marched  
 “ in the head of an Army, and not to depend upon  
 “ gathering an Army up in his March. All the Nor-  
 “ thern Counties were, at present, most at his de-  
 “ votion; and so it would be most easy to raise Men  
 “ there: *New-Castle* was the only Port in his obe-  
 “ dience, and whither he had appointed his supplies  
 “ of Arms, and Ammunition to be sent; of which  
 “ he had so present need, that all his Magazine,  
 “ which was brought in the Providence, was already  
 “ distributed to those few Gentlemen, who had re-  
 “ ceived Commissions, and were most like speedily  
 “ to raise their Regiments; and it would be a very  
 “ long, and might prove a very dangerous passage  
 “ to get the supplies, which were daily expected,  
 “ to be brought with security from *New-Castle*, when



BOOK V. " the King should be advanced so many days Journey  
v. " beyond *York*. " All which were very important  
considerations, and ought to have prevailed; but  
the King's inclinations to be nearer *London*, and the  
expectation he had of great effects from *Portsmouth*,  
and the West, disposed him to a willingness to prefer  
*Nottingham*; but that which determined the Point,  
was an apparent, and manifest aversion in the *York-*  
*shire* Gentlemen, whose affections were least sus-  
pected, that his Majesty should continue, and remain  
at *York*; which, they said, the People apprehended,  
" would inevitably make that Country the seat of the  
" War: " unskilfully imagining, that the War would  
be no where, but where the King's Army was; and  
therefore they facilitated all things, which might  
contribute to his remove from thence; undertook,  
to provide Convoys for any Arms and Ammunition  
from *New-Castle*; to hasten the Levies in their own  
Country; and to borrow the Arms of some of the  
Trained-bands; which was the best expedient, that  
could be found out, to arm the King's Troops, and  
had it's reverse in the murmurs it produced, and in  
leaving the best affected Men, by being disarmed,  
at the Mercy of their Enemies; who carefully kept  
their Weapons, that they might be ready to fight  
against the King. This caused the resolution to be  
taken for *Nottingham*, without enough weighing the  
objections, which, upon the Entrance into great  
Actions, cannot be too much deliberated, though,  
in the Execution, they were best shut out. And it  
quickly appeared in those very Men, who prevailed  
most in that Council; for, when the time drew on,

in which his Majesty was to depart, and leave the Country, Then they remembered, “ that the Garrison of *Hull* would be left as a thorn in their sides, where there were well formed, and active Troops, which might march over the Country without control, and come into *York* itself without resistance: That there were many disaffected Persons of Quality, and Interest in the Country, who, as soon as the King should be gone, would appear amongst their neighbours, and find a concurrence from them in their worst designs; and that there were some places, some whole Corporations, so notoriously disaffected, especially in matters relating to the Church, that they wanted only Conductors to carry them into Rebellion.”

These, and the like reflections, made too late impressions upon them; and Now, too much, they magnified this Man's power, whom before they contemned; and doubted that Man's Affection, of which they were before secure; and made a thousand Propositions to the King this day, whereof they rejected the greatest part to morrow; and, as the day approached nearer for the King's departure, their apprehensions and irresolutions increased. In the end, they were united in two Requests to the King; that “ he would commit the supreme Command of the Country, with reference to all Military Affairs, to the Earl of *Cumberland*; and qualify him, with an ample Commission, to that purpose.” The other, “ that his Majesty would command Sir *Thomas Glemham* to remain with them, to govern and command such Forces, as the Earl of *Cumber-*

BOOK V. “ *land* should find necessary for their defence.” And this Provision being made by the King, they obliged themselves to concur in making any preparations, and forming any Forces the Earl should require. His Majesty, as willingly, gratified them in both their desires. The Earl of *Cumberland* was a Man of great Honor and Integrity, who had all his Estate in that Country and had lived most amongst them, with very much acceptance and affection from the Gentlemen, and the Common People: but he was not, in any degree, active, or of a Martial temper; and rather a Man more like not to have any Enemies, than to oblige any to be firmly, and resolutely his Friends, or to pursue his Interest: The great Fortune of the Family was divided, and the greater part of it carried away by an Heir Female; and his Father had so wasted the remainder, that the Earl could not live with that lustre, nor draw so great a dependance upon him, as his Ancestors had done. In a word, he was a Man of Honor, and Popular enough in Peace, but not endued with those parts which were necessary for Such a season. Sir *Thomas Glemham* was a Gentleman of a noble extraction, and a fair Fortune, though he had much impaired it; he had spent many years, in Armies, beyond the Seas; and he had been an Officer of very good esteem in the King’s Armies, and of courage, and Integrity unquestionable; but he was not of so stirring and active a nature, as to be able to infuse Fire enough into the Flegmatic constitutions of that People, who did rather wish to be Spectators of the War, than Parties in it; and believed, if they did not pro-

voke the other Party, they might all live quietly together; until Sir *John Hotham*, by his excursions, and depredations out of *Hull*, and their seditious Neighbours, by their Insurrections, awakened them out of that Pleasant Dream. And then the greatest part of the Gentry of that Populous Country, and very many of the Common People, did behave themselves with signal Fidelity, and Courage in the King's Service: Of all which Particulars, which deserve well to be remembered, and transmitted to Posterity, there will be occasion to make mention, in the following Discourse.

Yet I cannot leave *York* without the mention of one Particular; which, in truth, is a lively Instance of the Spirit and Temper of that time, and was a sad Prefage of all the misfortunes which followed. There were very few Gentlemen, or Men of any Quality; in that large County, who were actively or factiously disaffected to his Majesty; and of those the Lord *Fairfax*, and his Son, Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, were the chief; who were governed by two or three, of inferior Quality, more conversant with the People; who were as well known as They. All these were in the County, at their Houses, within few miles of *York*; and the King resolved, at his going away, to have taken them all Prisoners, and to have put them in safe Custody; by which, it was very probable, those mischiefs, that shortly after broke out, might have been prevented. But the Gentlemen of the County, who were met together to consult for their own security, hearing of this Design, besought his Majesty "Not to do it;" alledging, "that he would,



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“ thereby, leave them in a worse condition, by an  
 “ Act so ungracious, and unpopular; and that the  
 “ disaffected would be so far from being weakened,  
 “ that their Party would be increased thereby;”  
 many really believing, that neither Father nor Son  
 were transported with over-vehement inclinations  
 to the Parliament: but would willingly sit still, with-  
 out being Active on either side; which, no doubt,  
 was a Policy, that many, of those, who wished  
 well, desired and intended to be safe by. And so  
 his Majesty left *York*, taking with him only two or  
 three of inferior rank (whereof one *Stapleton* was one)  
 who were known to have been very active in stirring  
 the People to Sedition; and yet, upon some specious  
 pretences, some very good Men were persuaded,  
 within few days to procure the Liberty and Enlarge-  
 ment even of those from his Majesty. So ticklish  
 were those times, and so wary were all Men to ad-  
 vise, the King should do any thing, which, upon  
 the strictest inquisition, might seem to swerve from  
 the strict rule of the Law; believing, unreasonably,  
 that the softest and gentlest Remedies might be most  
 wholesomely applied to those rough, and violent  
 Diseases.

The King came to *Nottingham* two or three days  
 before the day he had appointed to set up the Stan-  
 dard; having taken *Lincoln* in his way, and drawn  
 some Arms from the Trained-bands of that County  
 with him to *Nottingham*; from whence, the next day,  
 he went to take a view of his Horse; whereof there  
 were several Troops well armed, and under good  
 Officers, to the number of seven or eight hundred  
 Men;

Men; with which, being informed, "that there  
 " were some Regiments of Foot marching towards  
 " *Coventry*, by the Earl of *Essex* his Orders, he made  
 " haste thither;" making little doubt, but that he  
 should be able to get thither before them, and so to  
 possess himself of that City; and he did get thither  
 the day before they came; but found, not only the  
 Gates shut against him, but some of his Servants  
 shot, and wounded from the Walls: Nor could all  
 his Messages, and Summons prevail with the Mayor  
 and Magistrates, before there was any Garrison  
 there, to suffer the King to enter into the City. So  
 great an Interest, and Reputation the Parliament had  
 gotten over the Affections of that People, whose  
 hearts were alienated from any reverence to the  
 Government.

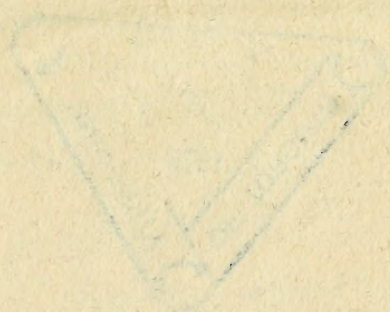
The King could not remedy the Affront, but  
 went that night to *Stonely*, the House then of Sir  
*Thomas Lee*; where he was well received; and, the  
 next day, his Body of Horse, having a clear view,  
 upon an open Campaign, for five or six miles toge-  
 ther. of the Enemies small Body of Foot, which  
 consisted not of above twelve hundred Men with  
 one Troop of Horse, which Marched with them  
 over that plain, retired before them, without giving  
 them one Charge; which was imputed to the ill  
 conduct of *Wilmot*, who Commanded; and had a  
 colder Courage, than many who were under him,  
 and who were of opinion, that they might have  
 easily defeated that Body of Foot: Which would  
 have been a very seasonable Victory; would have  
 put *Coventry* unquestionably into the King's hands,

**B O O K** and sent him with a good Omen to the setting up  
**v.** of his Standard. Whereas, that unhappy Retreat, which looked like a Defeat, and the Rebellious behaviour of *Coventry*, made his Majesty's return to *Nottingham* very Melancholy; whither he returned the very day the Standard was appointed to be set up.

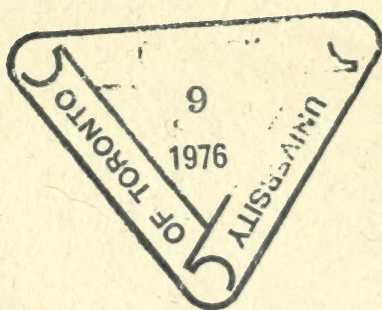
The King's  
 Standard set  
 up at Notting-  
 ham Aug. 15.  
 1642.

According to the Proclamation, upon the twenty-fifth day of *August*, the Standard was erected, about six of the Clock in the evening of a very stormy, and tempestuous day. The King himself, with a small train, rode to the top of the *Castle-Hill*, *Varney* the Knight-Marshal, who was Standard-Bearer, carrying the Standard, which was then erected, in that place, with little other Ceremony than the sound of Drums, and Trumpets: Melancholy Men observed many ill Presages about that time. There was not one Regiment of Foot yet brought thither, so that the Trained-bands, which the Sheriff had drawn together, were all the strength the King had for his Person, and the Guard of the Standard. There appeared no Conflux of Men in obedience to the Proclamation; the Arms, and Ammunition were not yet come from *York*, and a General Sadness covered the whole Town. The Standard was blown down, the same night it had been set up, by a very strong and unruly wind, and could not be fixed again in a day or two, till the tempest was allayed. This was the Melancholy State of the King's Affairs, when the Standard was set up.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.







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